On Poll Day

The week after next, India will go to the polls a third time in the biggest ever general elections held anywhere in the world, under the system of Parlia-mentary democracy. We have no doubt the earthy wisdom and the growing maturity of our great people will be demonstrated anew the way they cast their vote.

In Indian tradition, the elephant is the symbol of royalty and power. The Congress rode to power under the red-brocade umbrella of national independence amidst the hopes and aspirations of our people for a better and happier life.

HE hall-mark of the Con-THE hall-mark of the Con-gress as the ruling party, however, has been that it has ridden roughshod over its own solemn pledges to the people, who gave it trust, confidence and power. It is the greatest political crime any national party could commit.

And our ever-just people have duly punished the Con-gress, by ruthlessly critting its vote, election after elec-tion, though this does not get reflected in the number of seats, due to the defec-tive system of representa-tion mechanically copied from the British.

None can claim that the record of the Congress in the last five years has changed for the better. Harder knocks, a bigger cut in votes and less seats await the ruling party when the day of reckoning comes.

Our people know their hunger, want and misery from live experience and they will mercilessly punish the guilty, once again.

No political party has been more maligned and slandered than the Communist Party and yet the political miracle happened.

The Indian people through their own experience learning to distinguish the true from the false and raised our Party to the status of the Party to the status of the main opposition party in the country, their No. Two national party charged with the responsibility to reverse the ruling party's anti-peo-ple policies, and through correct criticism and effec-tive action kep it on the right course and report back the true state of affairs to the people for them to in-tervene. The Indian people wanted — and want — our Party to break the Congress power monopoly wherever power monopoly wherever sible

As the Indian people review the last five years' record and recall which party said and did what and when, they will undoubtedly come to the con-clusion that the Communist Party has proved anew its true loyalty to the Indian nation and untiring championship of people's welfare and for an ever higher status for India in the world.

PEOPLE'S HOPES

Let the slanderers bewail. As it happened in the past so it will happen again and amidst deafening acclaim our people will vote in greater strength for the communist Party to act the strong and wise mahout over the Congress elephant, over the Congress elemant, growing more and more unruly. The experienced Indian people know that the Communist Party alone can discharge the difficult

can discharge the difficult responsibility. The dirf, dust and din created and left by 15 years of Congress misrule has led to

the birth of new, growth of old and a new realignment among reactionary groups and par-ties, the emergence of the Swatantra-Jana Sangh and PSP combine

They are all together in seeking to turn the wheel of India backwards. Their ambition knows no bounds. The proclaimed aim of each of them is to become the main opposition party, at the cost of the Communist Party:

The responsibility for these evil reactionary groups stalking the Indian scene inevit-ably belongs to the ruling party. The patriotic duty to wipe them out of Indian

Now that Anglo-US rulers are out to twist, in their own crooked but tenacious man-ner, India's tail over Kashmir the Indian people need a stronger Communist Party to stand guard over Kash-mir, as a part of Indian National territory.

VOL. X, NO. 6

Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan threatens to wa 150 years for Kashmir. to wait for

WIPE OUT VIPERS

The protagonists of the Def-ence Pact with Pakistan need to be wiped out during these

been routed. A stronger Communist representation inside the Indian Parliament would be the best guarantee to ensure that the national to ensure that the national policy of Panchsheel is dog-gedly defended, consistently implemented, to bring new glory to our country and peace to the world.

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 11, 1962

When the ruling party itself calls for national integration calls for national integration as the greatest need of the country, it constitutes the damnation of the actual policies pursued by it under which forces of castelsm, com-munalism and separation are running riot.

The sin was committed, not

fights for policies that will ensure that the Indian Plan really speed up national re-generation and lead to grea-ter welfare of our long-

25 nP.

عارً

Again the Communist Party does not only argue on poli-cies but organises struggles of peasants and workers, office employees, shopkeepers and every section in need and dis-tress to change official poli-cies and practices in the inte-rests of the common people who constitute real India.

Naturally enough the parties of the Right call our Party Enemy No. One and because the Congress does not always

STRENGTHEN COMMUNIST MAHOUT OVER THE UNRULY CONGRESS ELEPHANT

political life falls on the Indian voters during the coming elections.

ALL FOR NATION

We assure our good people that the Communist Party will pit all its strength against these dark, degrading and disruptive forces and pull all its weight against them.

The patriotic worth of the Communist Party is writ large over the struggle for Goan liberation. For fourteen long years, Prime Minister. Nehru tried out in vain his favourite theory of peaceful persuasion.

Every year during Parlia-mentary debates, Communist spokesmen urged that only the policy of national action, including action by Indian armed forces, will make sense armed forces, will make sense to the Portuguese usurpers, and its imperialist NATO partners, Today the whole world knows who has proved right, and who wrong.

The Indian Communists did not only argue, they did not only argue, they united with Goan national-ists, supported their heroic commando fighters and created the preconditions for the victorious and rapid march of the Indian armed forces for the final act of Uberation. forces for liberation.

The Indian Communists were the first to warn the nation against taking the Kashmir issue to the UN, which was done by the ruling party, with faith in Anglo-US friendship for India!

elections and they are not only outside the Congress, in the parties of the Right but also inside the Congress, amidst its Rightist leaders.

The Communist Party has een the foremost in calling been the foremost in caung for Indian solidarity with Asian-African-Latin American Asian-Arrican-Latin American liberation in the cause of common anti-colonialism and in the name of the best Indian national tradition.

Anti-Communists, whether Anti-Communists, whether inside or outside the Congress have been pleading and press-ing for Indian passivity and a friendly understanding with the imperialist West.

The experience of Goa and Kashmir has not made them wiser for they do not think nor feel as anti-imperialist, good, patriotic Indians.

world-wide battle The fronts of liberation in Angola, Congo, Algeria, in Africa, Cuba, etc., in Latin America, Laos and Vietnam in Asia, all call for sustained solidarity and firm action from our great country.

The surest way to ensure it is to make the most consistent is to make the most consistent anti-colonialist party of our country, the Communist Party, stronger than ever through the coming elections.

The pro-Western Rightist parties are out to distort, bes-mirch and attack the policy of Panchsheel. How often Prime Minister Nehru has to act as its lone defender but with the Communist Party standing firmest in support by bis side. his side

Pro-Western enemies of Panchsheel, have not yet

for the first time, in Keral Congress alliance with the Muslim League, just to over-throw the legally elected Communist-led Ministry in that Statel that State!

The Jana Sangh naturally enough felt encouraged to enough felt encouraged to stage anti-Muslim riots thro-ughout the North and the Akalis mount their morcha in the Punjab and so on.

Congressmen stood dazed and paralysed. Good sentiments were expressed by Pandit Nehrn bnt effective action was initiated only by the Communists and they activised honest secular elements irrespective of party differences.

A stronger Communist Party is the best investment for the health of secular democracy in India.

The Congress plans are be-coming bigger in size but not the life of the common people better.

The Communist Party ex-plains the enigma and shows the way out.

The parties of the Right are out to challenge the policy of planned development itself.

INDIA'S REVIVAL

The ruling party shame-lessly asks for greater trust in itself and harder work by the labouring people, while it goes on appeasing the yested inte-rests, leading to the growth of monopoly within and inroads of foreign monopoly capital from abroad. The Communist Party

do their bidding as they de-sire, while we can more it through mass action the heed to the voice of the to pay ple, they denounce it too for going Communist!

SLASH CONGRESS

To vote for the Right is to vote against India's plan-ned progress. To vote for the Congress is to vote for Indian monopoly getting the uppermost hand over the appermost manu over national economy. To vote Communist is to strengthen the fight for Indian plan-ning, serving the needs of the Indian people, above all.

India's voters have to decide whether India is to be allowed whether india is to be allowed to be dragged backward by the Right or allowed to stagnate and weaken under the Con-gress, or led forward, towards a happier future for the peo-ple and greater glory for the nation as demanded by the community Communists.

We have no doubt their ver-dict will help:

- O Crush the Right, as vipers!
- Slash the Congress vote and seats, for breach of trust with the people!

 Uplift the Communist Party as the strongest ever oppo-sition party, charged with the task to fulfil the national mission in alliance with all good patriotic Indians, their groups and parties!



suffering people. Again the Communist Party

By ALI ASHRAF ==

A Bengal legislator was recently quoted by the national reconstruction and Hindustan Standard to say that during the first general elections in 1952 the Muslims lay low. In 1957 they raised their head but now they stand erect. THE third general elections The Jamaat issued a ques-first general elections to now awekening tionaire and though the re-

THE third general elections find a new awakening among the Muslims in India. As a sympathetic Hindu pub-licist has reminded them, "in the period after 1957 you found it difficult to utter even a word of complaint. Now you openly rise your voice against injustices and fight for jus-tice" (Urdu Daily Seyasat, Kanpur, January 10). Cer-tainly there is growth of self-confidence among Muslims as citizens of a democratic country. They, too, like the rest of their countrymen, are on the

In this context immediately the question of direction be comes important Where are they moving-towards communalism or away from it?

New

Direction

Except for the Muslim League in Kerala and in Madras, and the Ittehadul Muslimeen in the literadul Muslimeen in the old By-derabad part of Andhra Pradesh, separatist organi-sations among Muslims have not been able to make headway in the context of the elections in any part of the country.

This was not due to any lack of determination on their part. Months back the Jamaat-e-Islami sought to forge a united front of all Muslim organizations with

Failing in its bid to form a united front or platform of all Muslims for purposes of elections, comm sought to induce Muslims to keep out of the elections

serve the interests of their The inspiration to this own community. negative and barren course of action, too, came from the And fourthly, bycott of elections may act as a protest and a moral pressure against reactionary anti-democratic Jamaat-e-Islami

The head of the Jamaat, Maulana Abul Lais Siddiqi has been reported by a Hindu admirer to agree with the bycott. The latter, a retired High Court Judge, admits that "other things did not impress me. But I was worried when I learned that Manlana Abi Lais also held the same view" (Seyasat, January 10). While the move could not

become popular, some news-rapers devoted special col-umns and editorials, statements were issued and resolutions were passed by socio religious organisations in som socio religious organisations in some places exhorting Muslims to keep out of the general elections. The Congress daily Qaumi Awaz of Lucknow was Awaz of Lucknow was to take note of it and obliged to take note of it and had to come out editorially

of 80 per cent support. Char-acterising all such proposals as the "result of frustration cnd defeatism", an ex-MLA of the U.P. Assembly pointed out opposing the move. The stock-in-tre slock-in-trade argument of the anti-democratic Jamaat-e-Islami was based on ideological religious considera-tions. God had ordained the Constitution and the Law for all times to come. It was not. tiven to man to make or to interpret and implement them. And this was the pre-regalize of the Ulema of the JANNAAT

Jamaan Bhuald then, the question areas, the faithful participate in electric dealers which arrocated to themselves divine functions of law making?

PALM TWO

tionaire and though the re-plies had not been made pub-lic, the Jamaat decided to keep aloof from the elections.

What in reality weighed with the Jamaat, it is rea. with the Jamaat, it is rea-sonable to conclude, was not so much divine injunction as its failure to forge the unity of all Muslims and then to come to terms with Hindu communal organisa-tions and other reaction-aries, the line openly advo-cated by the Jamaat organ cated by the Jamaat organ Dawat.

Frustration led some others also to take the same view. Maulana Hashim of the traditional Institute of Theological learning of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, whose statement was accorded wide publicity was accorded wide publicity What is in the Muslim Press, summed the frust up the position in apparent-ly cogent and secular reasons. Communal riots, it was the polic argued, were provoked with ments who an eye on the elections, to feeling pu frighten the Muslims and to consolidate Hindu votes be-hind communal parties Wus-

Parliament and State legisla-

tures had acted merely as the cover for various political parties dominated by Hindus and have not been able to

The Qaumi Awaz correctly pointed out that quite a large

percentage of people abstain-

ed from participation in the earlier elections but they

could, thereby, hardly exercise

It is not difficult to detect

the voice of despair and utter demoralisation in the arguments advising Mus-lims to bycott the elections.

Dr. Faridi of Lucknow pro-

posed his variant of the by-cott when he advised the Muslims to contest elections

only when they were assured

in a statement: "Election pro

vides opportunities of estab-lishing new relationships. Joint electorates help weaken

communal feelings among both Hindu and Muslim can-didates. Even the Jana Sangh candidates will have to com-

iromite their extremism Mutual concessions will have

"Muslim candidates will have to appreach non-Muslim return on common problems of

to be given.

any pressure on anybody.

Voice Of

Despair

injustice.

sense of the majority commu-nity and to join the election battle for the sake of national welfare and solidarity. (Seyasat, February 3).

The revival of faith among the mass of Muslims, which is reflected in these statements and which could not be shaken even by the spate of recent riofs, came in the wake of and as part of the general democratic growth seneral democratic growth of the people. It hardly made Muslim masses amen-able to counsels of despair and inaction.

Cause For Frustration

What lay, however, behind the frustration of a section was the disillusionment from the policies and practices of the Congress and its govern-ments which was the common feeling prevalent among most Muslims.

Ingreen the Muslims and to consolidate Hindu votes be-hind communal parties. Mus-lims should, therefore, keep away from elections so that no ground remains for this pro-vocation. Secondly, Muslim candi-dates will only serve to weaken the chances of success of secu-lar, progressive Hindu candi-dates. Thirdly, Muslim members of

selection of Seth Govind Das. "who as member of Parliament has represented the interests of sacred animals more than that of human beings. In the 1941 Jabalpur riots Sethji had reported Muslims to be the attackers. By selecting such people as its candidates, the Congress had dis-appointed Muslims." (Janu-ary 19).

The Payame Mashriq of Delhi wrote: "The situation has reached a stage when a section of Muslims has begun thinking if at all there is a difference between the Co gress and the Jana Sangh from the point of view of Indian Muslims. What is it that the Jana Sangh does and the Congress does not do?" Congress leaders who were

not unaware of this situation have taken hurrled steps to The injustices perpetrated correction in its stand on Urdu

Ministers

Wooing

Congress Ministers seem to

be going out of their way to woo Muslim voters. They are going about addressing sec-tional conferences of Mus-

lims like the Shia conference, the Momin conference, etc. The acceptance of various

types of long standing demands is announced on

unced the sanction of an addi-

forge a united front of all Muslim organisations – with itself, the Muslim League and the pro-Congress Jamiatul Warne as the hedrock

tempts to exploit caste and communal differences for election ends—all these are factors which have led to disillusionment among Muslims.

They are not convinced of the Congress bona fides. "If after all that has hap-

pened to the Muslims during the 14 years of Congress rule" wrote the Seyasat, "there are still to be found Musims loyal

to the Congress, who have the

courage to appeal to Muslims to vote Congress then the

crime of the Jana Sanghi

The Seyasat, here, was re-

Muslim of Ajmer becomes very

ferring to the fact that the

Jana Sargh election cam-paign in Ajmer was inaugu-rated by a Muslim Abdul Jabbar Khan who claimed

that the Jana Sangh was a non-communal organisation.

It is this growing anti-pathy to the Congress which distinguishes the Muslim attitude in this election

from that in the earlie

elections. The Congress has to thank itself and none other for this development.

Congress indifference to the problems of the minorities, its suppression of the demo-

cratic. urges of the people

rity, its policy of open door to the communalists and all other reactionaries, its at-

including the Muslin

small indeed!"

Anger At

Congress

In the first interview grant-ed by the Chief Minister to the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu deputation after four years of persistent efforts all demands-concerning Urdu were either "conceded" or promised to be

cost of the Congress. The Swatantra Party has conceded" or promised to be ympathetically looked into. The interesting point of Muslims on its ticket, has about it, however, is that these concessions were granted only after the Anju-man Taragqi-e-Urdu Pre-cident had appropried bis about it, nowever, is that these concessions were granted only after the Anju-man Taragqi-e-Urdu Pre-sident had announced his sident had announced his intention to contest the Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 per cent voters were Mus-lims. Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 per cent voters were Mus-lims. Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 per cent voters were Mus-lims. Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 per cent voters were Mus-lims. Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 constituents to stand on the farmers

on Swatantra ucket. The Swatantra propaganda aga-inst India's foreign policy is finding its echo in the pro-Pakistani sentiments of a sec-tion of the Urdu Press.

Thus, Krishna Menon is Thus, Krishna Menon is being opposed on the ground that he ignores the danger from China in order to divert attention against Pakistan. But after Rajaji's statement eulogising Jana Sangh revivalism, Muslim communalism had to cool off. apnarentire off, apparently.

cemands is announced on such occasions. For example, at Hajipur in Rihar where the popular Communist leader Kishori the Irrigation Minister Dip Arazyan Singh, the latter got Urdu society meeting in a big way and in his capacity as recretary of the college anno-unced the announced of the college anno-tice set to say concretely which the set to say concretely which particular party of parties the Muslims should support

SER PAGE 4

FEBRUARY 11, 1963

Grave Charges Against ASOKE SEN

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in Dir Hit Sew of Trust - Balls 14 -engese 1943 and Hit Sand Griften ours K Marin Karlo Onles - Hin On Jame faith and and and faile

Start of the Title Deed.

executed in accordance with the agreements, the Union Law Ministry would appoint

an arbitrator, whose deci-sion in the matter would be binding on both parties.

The Government of India

It is rather curious that

when the matter was al-ready in the hands of the Union Law Ministry and both parties were awaiting

the appointment of an arbi-trator, Girdharidas Kothari transferred, as a trustee and

as the owner of a family

husiness, the aforemention-

ed three bighas of land to the Union Law Minister and

his wife on January 30, 1961.

Promode Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

A report of a grave nature ther the work was being has come to our notice. Certain allegations have been made in the said report been made in the said report about the Union Law Minister, Asoke Sen. We would expect the Government of India as well as Sen to reply to these allegations.

claimed over two crores of rupees from the Hind Cons-truction Co. because it is learnt the work in connection The report about Sen is as follows: The Union Law Min-ister and his wife, Anjana Sen, have of late become own-Sen, have of late become own-ers of three bighas of land at 5, Judges Court Road Accord-ing to the present value of a such, it was not approved a such, it was not approved ing to the present value of land, the price of one katha by the Government. The matter was, therefore, of land at Judges Court Road cannot be less than Rs. 15,000. The value of three bighas of land would be on the basis of referred to the Union Law Minister for appointment, in terms of the aforementioned this calculation, at least nine agreement of an arbitrator. lakhs of rupees. (Rs. 900,000). The method of acquiring the ownership of this piece of CURIOUS TRANSFER land has been rather novel. Girdharidas Kothari, a nerhew of Birla, is the real own-er of the Hind Construction

Co. Ltd. This firm has executed many different types of contracts received from the Government of India.

COMPANY UNDER FIBE

One of the very big jobs undertaken by the Company was in connection with the was in connection with the Tine whole instory of this construction of the naval transfer is recorded in the dockyard, involving crores Book No. 1, vol-35, pages 185-of rupees. 190, No. 816 of 1961 and Book One of the terms of agree-ments between the Govern-No. 827 of 1961 of the Regis-

ments between the Govern-No. 1, vol. 5, pages 210-100, plot of land was a gift? ment and the Company was that in case of any dispute or difference of opinion be-tween the parties as to whe-the chased between June 14, 1960 the company as the chased between June 14, 1960 the case of Dalmia and Mundhra?

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

enquiry of any of these riots. of the Patna University im-no action was taken against posing Hindi as the sole me-any of the officers who had failed to maintain law and order and protect the lives effect was again postponed and property of the people for another four years. belonging to the minority. No legal steps were taken against the communal organisations responsible for the riots"

The Daily Sangam of Patna chose to raise some pertinent questions in its Republic Day Issue: "Does every class and community", asked the paper, "enjoy equal status in the country? Does every comcountry? Does every com-munity enjoy religious, social, cultural and economic equality in the coun-try?" The answer, obviously, was in the negative.

Congress. Muslim workers of the PSP and the CPI are being

The Sangam of Patna com-

While other papers did not sother about the number of Congress tickets given to Mus-lims, they complained about the type of persons selected as Congress candidates

NEW ACE

responsible for the (Seyasat, January 25).

"conceded" or promised to be sympathetically looked into.

The Jabalpur correspon-dent of the Daily Paigham of dent of the Daily Paigham of Kanpur reported that "Con-gress election propaganda is negating democracy. Muslims are being told that unless they vote Congress they will con-tinue to be looted, burnt and killed. Muslims are being bul-lied to join as members of the Congress. Muslim workers of threatened" (January 19).

The Sangam of Patna com-plained that "the High Com-mand had promised to give the minorities greater repre-rentation than their percent-age, but this has not been done. For 2.833 Assembly seats only 121 Muslims have been given tickets" (January 15).

Thus, the Sadae Aam com-

and July 13, 1960, by the "Kothari Charity Trust" and a family business concern, known as "Paramsukh Das Sugachand".

Girdharidas Kothari transferred as a trustee (jointly with two others) and as the owner of the concern "Paramsuch Das Sugachand" three bighas of land to the Union Law Minister and his wife. It is recorded in the trans-

fer deed that the "Kothari Charitable Trust" and "Pa-ramsukh Das Sugachand" had purchased these three bighas of land as benamdars on behalf of the Union Law Minister and his wife and transferred the plot to them at their request.

Shortly after this, an arbitrator was appointed, either by the Union Law Minister himself or under his instructions. After a preliminary enquiry the arbi-trator is reported to have given his opinion against the Government, although there has been no hearing in the matter till now

LEGITIMATE QUESTIONS

The public can legitimately demand satisfactory answers to the following questions:

1) Is the above report, which has come to our notice, true? 2) What is the main object

of the "Kothari Charity Trust"? Is the purchase of properties as benamdars for Cabinet Ministers or others one of the aims and objects of this charitable institution? Did the said Trust take any decision or adopt any resolution regarding this benami purchase? If so, on what a date? Is the Trust entitled to take such a decision or adopt any such resolution?

3) What is the nature of the Union Law Minister's rela-tions with the firm of "Paramsukh Das Sugachand", particularly when the owner of the said concern is Girdharidas Kothari?

4) Can the Union Law Minter appoint as his benamdar businessman who is directly a bus involved in many contracts with the Government of India?

5) Can any Cabinet Minister acquire properties through the medium of such benamdars?

6) Can the Union Law Minister acquire properties from a person who has different types of claims on the Government of India, involving crores of rupees, and for the settlement of which the Union Law Minister is empowered to ap-point an arbitrator?

PRORE BEQUIRED

7) Will the Government of India institute an enquir into this affair with a view finding out the truth? enquiry a view to The whole history of this

8) Will the Governm make an enquiry whether the plot of land was a gift?

A subject of the function of the second seco Surface and a surface of the surface 100 3910 Start Que - 1 - 0 - 0 - 1 A + 0.0-How of constraint and a fair المسلس و موجه عند المعالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية المحالية ال المحالية الم And the second s Marine wife mintain un parameter and high of similar of action mitter by affection and primary and action S. Chattine to and 1.

Asoke Sen's name appears on this page.

10) In view of the fact that the preliminary finding of the arbitrator has gone against the Government, has it thou-pht of taking fresh steps in the matter? Does it propose to take the entire matter out of the hands of the Union Law Minister or has it already done so?

The sum due to the Government of India is, it goes without saying, money due to the people. They are directly interested in this matter, as it involves crores upon crores of rupees. It appears that the final jud-gement in regard to the Government's claims has not yet been pronounced.

We have, therefore, raised e that the matter in the hop necessary steps will be taken to safeguard the interests of the people.



PAGE THREE

By ALI ASHRAF ==

A Bengal legislator was recently quoted by the Hindustan Standard to say that during the first general elections in 1952 the Muslims lay low. In 1957 they raised their head but now they stand erect. It is not difficult for people ther heads high and to have faith in the fraternal good UE third general elections. The Jamest issued a quest sense of the majority commun-

THE third general elections find a new awakening ong the Muslims in India. 9m As a sympathetic Hindu nubicist has reminded them, "in the period after 1957 you found it difficult to utter even a word of complaint. Now you openly rise your voice again Curdu Daily Seyasat, Kanpur, January 10). Certainly there is growth of self-confidence among Muslims as citizens of a democratic country. They, too, like the rest of their countrymen, are on the

In this context immediately the question of direction be comes important. Where are they moving—towards com-munalism or away from it?

Direction

New

Except for the Muslim League in Kerala and in Madras, and the Ittehadul Muslimeen in the old Hy-derabad part of Andhra Pradesh, separatist organi-sations among Muslims have not been able to make headway in the context of the elections in any part of the country.

This was not due to any lack of determination on their part. Months back the Jamaat-e-Islami sought to forge a united front of all Muslim organisations — with itself, the Muslim League and the pro-Congress Jamiatul Ulema as the bedrock.

Failing in its bid to form a united front or platform of all Muslims for purposes of elections, communalism sought to induce Muslims to keep out of the elections altogether. The inspiration to this

negative and barren course of action, too, came from the reactionary anti-democratic Jamaat-e-Islami. elections may act as a protest and a moral pressure against

The head of the Jamaat. The head of the Jamaat, Maulana Abul Lais Siddiqi has been reported by a Hindu admirer to agree with the bycott. The latter, a retired High Court Judge, admits that "other things did not impress-me. But I was worried when I learned that Maulana Abul Lais also held the same winer" pointed out that quite a large percentage of people abstain-ed from participation in the earlier elections but they Lais also held the same view" (Seyasat, January 10). While the move could not Despair

become popular, some news-papers devoted special col-umns and editorials, state-ments were issued and resolu-tions were passed by socioreligious organisations in some places exhorting Muslims keep out of the general elec-tions. The Congress daily Qaumi Awaz of Lucknow was obliged to take note of it and had to come out editorially opposing the move.

The stock-in-trade argument of the anti-democratic Jamaat-e-Islami was based on ideological religious consideraions. God had ordained the Constitution and the Law for all times to come. It was not given to man to make or end divine laws but only to interpret and implement them. And this was the pre-rogative of the Ulema of the Jamaat. Should then, the question

arose, the faithful participate in electing bodies which arro-gated to themselves divine have to approach non-Muslim voters on common problems of functions of law making? PAGE TWO

The Jamaat issued a ques-tionaire and though the re-plies had not been made pub-lic, the Jamaat decided to keep aloof from the elections.

What in reality weighed with the Jamaat, it is rea sonable to conclude, was not so much divine injunction as its failure to forge the unity of all Muslim unity of all Muslims and then to come to terms with Hindn communal organisa-tions and other reaction-aries, the line openly advo-cated by the Jamaat organ Dawat.

Frustration led some others also to take the same view. Maulana Hashim of the tradi-tional Institute of Theological learning of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, whose statement was accorded wide publicity was accorded wide publicity in the Muslim Press, summed up the position in apparent-ly cogent and secular reasons. Communal riots, it was argued, were provoked with an eye on the elections, to feeling pr frighten the Muslims and to Muslims. consolidate Hindu votes be- "The in

The Qaumi Awaz correctly

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the voice of despair and inter demoralisation in the arguments advising Mus-lims to bycott the elections.

Dr. Faridi of Lucknow pro-

posed his variant of the by-cott when he advised the

Muslims to contest elections

only when they were assured

of 80 per cent support. Char-acterising all such proposals

and defeatism", an ex-MLA of the U.P. Assembly pointed out

in a statement: "Election pro-

vides opportunities of estab-

lishing new relationships Joint electorates help weaken

communal feelings among both Hindu and Muslim can-

didates Even the Jana Sangh candidates will have to com-promise their extremism. Mutual concessions will have

"Muslim candidates will

to be given.

as the "result of frustratio

any pressure on anybody.

Voice Of

injustice.

sense of the majority commu-nity and to join the election battle for the sake of national welfare and solidarity. (Seyasat, February 3).

The revival of faith among the mass of Muslims, which is reflected in these statements and which could not be shaken even by the spate of recent riots, came in the wake of and as part of the general democratic growth of the people. It hardly made Muslim masses amen-able to counsels of despair and inaction.

Cause For

Frustration

What lay, however, behind the frustration of a section was the disillusionment from the policies and practices of the Congress and its govern-ments which was the common-feeling prevalent among most

consolidate Hindu votes be-hind communal parties. Mus-lims should, therefore, keep ground remains for this pro-vocation. Secondly, Muslim candi-dates will only serve to weaken the chances of success of secu-iar, progressive Hindu candi-dates. Thirdly, Muslim members of

The Paigham attacked the selection of Seth Govind Das "who as member of Parliament has represented "If after all that has hap-pened to the Muslims during the 14 years of Congress rule" wrote the Seyasat, "there are still to be found Muslims loyal the interests of sacred animals more than that of human beings. In the 1941 Jabalpur riots Sethji had reported Muslims to be the people as its candidates, the Congress had dis-appointed Muslims." (January 19).

The Payame Mashriq of Delhi wrote: "The situation has reached a stage when a section of Muslims has begun thinking if at all there is a difference between the Co cinerence between the Con-gress and the Jana Sangh from the point of view of Indian Muslims. What is it that the Jana Sangh does and the Congress does not do?" Congress leaders who were not unaware of this situation have taken humidal does at

he congress and its govern-he congress and its govern-have taken hurried steps to have taken hurried steps to retrieve their position among eeling prevalent among most fusilins. The congress introduced the long overdue correction in its stand on Urdu

Ministers

secretary of the coll

unced the sanction of an addi-

Congress Ministers seem to

Wooing

And Elections

tempts to exploit caste and communal differences for election ends—all these are factors which have led to disillusionment among Muslims.

> Communal and reactionary elements are out to exploit this situation. Even the Jana Sangh seeks to gain respecta-bility among Muslims at the cost of the Congress.

They are not convinced of the. Congress bona fides. "If after all that has hap-

suit to be found Musims loyal to the Congress, who have the courage to appeal to Muslims to vote Congress then the crime of the Jana Sanghi Muslim of Ajmer becomes very small indeed!" The Seyasat, here, was re-ferring to the cost that the

ferring to the fact that the

Jana Sangh election cam-paign in Ajmer was inaugu-rated by a Muslim Abdul Jabbar Khan who claimed that the Jana Sangh was a non-communal organisation.

It is this growing anti-pathy to the Congress which distinguishes the Muslim attitude in this election

from that in the earlier elections. The Congress has to thank itself and none other for this development.

Congress indifference to the problems of the minorities, its suppression of the demo-cratic urges of the people including the Muslim mino-rity its police of and

rity, its policy of open door to the communalists and all other reactionaries, its at-

Anger At

Congress

The Swatantra Party has The Swatantra Party has set up an impressive number of Muslims on its ficket, has been publishing in Bihar a weekly paper and extensive campaign literature in Urdu and is concentrating on the ex-zemindars, big farmers and the professionals among the Muslims. man Taraqqi-e-Urdu Pre-sident had announced his intention to contest the Chief Minister in his constithe Musi

 Chief Minister in his consti-tuency where more than 40 per cent voters were Mus-lims;
 the Muslims.

 Ministers
 The Jamaat-e-Islami per-mitted its adherents to stand on Swatantra ticket. The Swatantra propaganda aga-inst India's foreign policy is finding its echo in the pro-Pakistani seriument et ere

Pakistani sentiments of a section of the Urdu Press.

Thus, Krishna Menon is thus, Krishna Menon is being opposed on the ground that he ignores the danger from China in order to divert attention against Pakistan. But after Rajaji's statement eulogising Jana Sangh revivalism Menon Sangh revivalism, Muslim communalism had to cool off, apparently.

the Momin conference, etc. The acceptance of various types of long standing demands is announced on The Jamaat-e-Islami Chief The Jamaate-Islami Chief in his long article on "What For example, at Hajipur in The Muslims Should Do?" in Bihar where the popular the elections indulges in a Communist leader Kishori bitter anti-Communist tirade, Prasanna Sinha is contesting enters into involved argu-the Irrigation Minister Dip ments and goes round and Naravan Singh the latter gat round but cannot hing him Narayan Singh, the latter got organised the local college Urdu society meeting in a big way and in his capacity as round but cannot bring him-self to say concretely which particular party or parties the Muslims should support

* SEE PAGE 4

FEBRUARY 11 1069

Grave Charges Against

V A. V. L

Raint Strates

CAS NO.

fer she of Selence make Non 300 or 3 June 000 Nale min la dal and billion Bitween Brullion Dis Kollion or Nandrig das 10 min lour unio fat no en Dreen our unio fat hour bound بعصب michard Stimel Jas com Volutie inte & Number 2500. Volutie inte & Number 2500. Komani deceand Anside met-no. H) Portey ou ge Cumbar Cont. Britan ali Borro Sama 200 fes 200 Dovanta Dova Barran Sum 200 00 saraha son sana shand Rised Cal to to An - Bilad Strice in line to g ali los al trusting of Kalliani clianity Trust a Trusticealo

ungune 1903 and We Sould Ju =is KAliani Varla vala Hind Jaulfinily and any on faile family busikets and to the

Start of the Title Deed.

Promode Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India has issued the following statement:

ther the work was being

executed in accordance with the agreements, the Union Law Ministry would appoint

an arbitrator, whose deci-sion in the matter would be binding on both parties.

The Government of India

It is rather curious that

when the matter was al-ready in the hands of the Union Law Ministry and both parties were awaiting

the appointment of an arbi

trator, Girdharidas Kothari transferred, as a trustee and

as the owner of a family

ss. the aforemention

A report of a grave nature has come to our notice. Certain allegations have been made in the said report about the Union Law Minister, Asoke Sen. We would expect the Government of India as well as Sen to reply to these allegations. claimed over two crores of

The report about Sen is as rupees from the Hind Consfollows: The Union Law Min-ister and his wife, Anjana Sen, have of late become owntruction Co. because it is learnt the work in connection with the construction of the Naval Dockyard was consider-ed to be unsatisfactory, and, as such, it was not approved by the Government. The matter was, therefore, ers of three bighas of land at 5, Judges Court Road. According to the present value of land, the price of one katha of land at Judges Court Road cannot be less than Rs. 15,000. The value of three bighas of land would be on the basis of referred to the Union Law Minister for appointment, in terms of the aforementioned this' calculation, at least nine agreement of an arbitrator. lakhs of rupes. (Rs. 900,000). The method of acquiring the ownership of this piece of CURIOUS TRANSFER land has been rather novel. Girdharidas Kothari, a nerhew of Birla, is the real own-er of the Hind Construction Co. Ltd. This firm has executed many different types of contracts received from the . Government of India.

COMPANY UNDER FIRE

One of the very big jobs undertaken by the Company was in connection with the construction of the naval dockyard, involving crores of rupees.

The whole history of this transfer is recorded in the Book No. 1, yol-35, pages 185-190, No. 816 of 1961 and Book No. 1, Vol-39, pages 246-150, No. 827 of 1961 of the Regis-One of the terms of agreements between the Govern-No. 87 of 1961 of the Regis-ment and the Company was trar of Assurance, Calcutta. that in case of any dispute These three bighas and titute an enquiry into this or difference of opinion be-tween the parties as to whe-chased between June 14, 1960 case of Dalmia and Mundhra?

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

Muslims Parliament and State legisla-tures had acted merely as the cover for various political parties dominated by Hindus and have not been able to serve the interests of their own community. And fourthly, bycott of In the first interview grant-ed by the Chief Minister to the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu deputation after four years of persistent efforts all demands concerning Urdu were either

the communal organisations responsible for the riots" (Seyasat, January 25). The Daily Sangam of Patna chose to raise some concerning Urdu were either "conceded" or promised to be sympathetically looked into. pertinent questions in its Republic Day Issue: "Does The interesting point about it, however, is that these concessions were granted only after the Anjnevery class and commu-nity", asked the paper, "enjoy equal status in the "enjoy equal status in the country? Does every com-munity enjoy religious, social, cultural and econo-mic equality in the conn-try?" The answer, obviously, was in the negative.

was in the negative. The Jabalpur correspon-dent of the Daily Paigham of Kanpur reported that "Con-gress election propaganda is negating democracy. Muslims are being told that unless they vote Congress they will con-tinue to be looted, burnt and killed Muslims are being but killed. Muslims are being bul-lied to join as members of the be going out of their way to woo Muslim voters. They are going about addressing sec-tional conferences of Mus-lims like the Shia conference, the Monin conference. Congress. Muslim workers of the PSP and the CPI are being

threatened" (January 19). The Sangam of Patna complained that "the High Com-mand had promised to give the minorities greater repre-rentation than their percentage, but this has not been done. For 2,833 Assembly seats coly 121 Muslims have been given tickets" (January 15).

While other papers did not bother about the number of Congress tickets given to Mus-lims, they complained about the type of persons selected as Congress candidates. Thus, the Sadae Aam com-

NEW AGE

and July 13, 1960, by the "Kothari Charity Trust" and a family business concern, known as "Paramsukh Das Sugachand".

Girdharidas Kothari transferred as a trustee (jointly with two others) and as the owner of the concern "Paramsuch Das Sugachand" three blghas of land to the Union Law Minister and his wife. It is recorded in the trans-

fer deed that the "Kothari Charitable Trust" and "Pa-ramsukh Das Sugachand" had purchased these three bighas of land as benamdars on behalf of the Union Law Minister and his wife and transfer-red the plot to them at their request.

Shortly after this, an arbitrator was appointed, either by the Union Law Minister himself or under his instructions. After a preliminary enquiry the arbi-trator is reported to have given his opinion against the Government, although there has been no hearing in the matter till now

LEGITIMATE QUESTIONS

The public can legitimately demand satisfactory answers to the following questions:

1) Is the above report, which has come to our notice; true?

2) What is the main object of the "Kothari Charlty Trust"? Is the purchase of properties as benamdars for Cabinet Ministers or others one of the aims and objects of this charitable institution? Did the said Trust take any decision or adopt any resolu-tion regarding this benami purchase? If so, on what date? Is the Trust entitled to take such a decision or adopt any such resolution?

3) What is the nature of the Join Law Minister's rela-tions with the firm of "Pa-ramsukh Das Sugachand", 'particularly when the owner of the said concern is Girdharidas Kothari?

4) Can the Union Law Minister appoint as his benamdar a businessman who is directly involved in many contracts with the Government of India?

5) Can any Cabinet Minister acquire properties through the medium of such benamdars?

6) Can the Union Law. Minister acquire properties from a person who has different types of claims on the Govern-ment of India, involving crores of rupees, and for the settlenent of which the Union Law Minister is empowered to appoint an arbitrator?

PRONK REQUIRED

ed three bighas of land to the Union Law Minister and his wife on January 30, 1961. 7) Will the Government of India institute an enquiry into this affair with a view to finding out the truth?

8) Will the Government make an enquiry whether the plot of land was a gift?



Asoke Sen's name appears on this page.

10) In view of the fact that the preliminary finding of the arbitrator has gone against the Government, has it thou ght of taking fresh steps in the matter? Does it propose to take the entire matter out of the hands of the Union Law Minister or has it already done so?

The sum due to the Government of India is, it goes without saying, money due to the people. They are directly interested in this matter, as it involves crores upon crores of rupees. It appears that the final judgement in regard to the Government's claims has not yet been pronoun

We have, therefore, raised the matter in the hope that necessary steps will be taken to safeguard the interests of the people.



PAGE THREE

Antoine Gizenga, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo, is threatened today with the same fate, as exactly a year ago met the great Patrice Lumumba. Make no mistake about it, do not be lulled into a feeling of complacence by the statements made by interested parties to the effect that all is well, izenga is only under "protection". Gizenga's life is in danger, terrible danger from the very same forces as were responsible for the assissination of Lumumba.

THE latest news is that Gizenga has been trans-ferred from the Mobutu paratroopers' camp at Binz Moanda on the Atlantic Coast. Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula has "assured" U.N. Secretary-General U. Thant that "Mr Antoine Gizenga was in no danger," (A.P. & A.F.P., February 4).

The facts, however, give no 🕘 That Gizenga is not under cause whatsoe sense of relief: whatsoever for any

The events leading to Gizenga's imprisonment bear a striking resemblance to the events which ended in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. And remember, the world learnt of the murder several days after the foul deed had been committed.

As for Adoula's assurance, however, well-inten-tioned they may or may not be, the fact is that he made a similar statement in Leopoldville at the time when Gienga was in the Binza military camp, and at the very moment when Gbenye, Minister of the Interior of the Central Government of the Congo Republic issued a press state-ment (January 25) stating that he_the Minister charge of Security-had been refuse erused permission to see Jizenga by the Mobutu paratroopers

The Minister of the Inte-

wardy is interpreted here as a sign of ailing health

of Pakistan's military re-

robust physique.

of major behind-th

gime rather than of its

NOWLEDGEABLE circles

came at the climax of a series

developments which if per-mitted to run their normal

course would have spelt the doom of the Ayub regime.

It is now known that Suhra-

wardy during the last one year had been active in reforging his links with various poli-tical elements in the country.

Besides, he was trying to re-vive important contacts in the

Although ostensibly in-

active—almost giving the impression of being apathe-tic towards politics—Suhra-

wardy was in fact very busy

to pick up the lost threads of Pakistani politics. Inevit-

bly, his main base was East

Pakistan, and he found there that the soil was ripe for a big push to oust the

Conditions in East Pakistan

have throughout been bad since the inception of Pakis-

tan. The economic exploita-

tion of this agrarian orphan-

only to bitter resentment but

East Pakistanis of being treat-

to a rankling complex am

claim that the arrest of former Prime Minister

LAHORE.

the form

defence force

active___

Pakistan.

PAGE FOUR

Ayub regime.

dents then that he regarded Gizenga's treatment as ab-normal and unlawful, since Gizenga enjoyed parliamentary immunity and no offi-cial charge had been made cial charge had been made against him. Gbenye told correspondents that he had learnt that Gizenga was ill and in need of medical assistance.

any sort of "protection" has been proved by the dis-closure that he wrote to Adoula demanding his release from the "cage" into which he had been thrown, with barbed wire all round and the windows and doors barred.

Suspicious also are the statements of Sture Lin-ner (the Swedish special representative of the IIN Se tary-General in the Congo) that he has met Gizenga who is "comfortable" and "well-fed" and that Gizenga did not accept United Nations "pro-tection" and had given in writing that the U.N. "bears no responsibility for his safety".

Sture Linner was Ham-Rajeswar Dayal failed to carry out the imperialists' morskipeld's choic orders in the Congo. He has close business link the U.S. imperialists, being connected as a director with the Lamco Joint Stock Company—a joint Swedish-

FREEGIZENGA

American concern for the exploitation of the wealth of Liberia.

And now, on the eve of his replacement as U.N. repre-sentative in the Congo by a Ghanaian official, Linner has acted fast to "assure" the world that Gizenga is "wellprotected" and that the U.N. cannot be blamed, if by any chance, he loses his life!

All men and women in all countries who value liberty and peace, justice and human rights, are, therefore, seriously concerned.

As Pierre Mulele, former Minister of Education in the Congolese Government has said, the imperialists' aim is "to liquidate Gizenga, who, after the murder of Lumumba, represents Congolèse resist-ance to the Balakanizing of the Republic of the Congo".

In every way, Gizenga has become the symbol of the struggle to carry forward the policies of Lumumba, against the imperialists' neo-colonialist plans in the Congo.

A well-laid conspiracy has led up to Gizenga's arrest: The false voting in the rump "Parliament" (from which nearly half the elect. ed members were absent-either killed, imprisoned or prevented from participat-ing); the wicked lies about Gizenga's so-called "respon-sibility" for the killings of the Italian airmen and European missionaries; the sending of UN tapene

"seceding" from the Congo. Gizenga was brought to Leo-The U.N. forces, according poldville by the U.N. It was to the Security Council re-the U.N. which handed him solution of November 27, were to the Mobutu gangs. to use force against Tshombe and disarm the foreign mercenarles in Katanga.

In complete violation of this resolution, the U.N. actually riade "peace" with Tshombe at the very moment when they could have brought foreign mercenaries to heel and helped the unification of forei the Congo.

It was not Tshombe who was put in prison, but Gizenga. It was not the foreign incrcenaries who were fought by the U.N. but the patriotic Lumumbais forces of the Congo. It is this which calls for. erious thought and decisive

action by every Indian, who is proud of our country's great name for its steadfast battle against imperialism and colonialism

The fact is that Indian The fact is that Indian troops are fighting under the. U.N. Command in Congo. The Indian people supported the sending of these troops to carry out the U.N. resolutions, which sought to defend the sovereignty and integrity of the Congo. Our men have laid down their lives in the fight against Tshombe and the for-eign mercenaries. eign mercenaries.

But today, once again, the U.N. Command has assisted the imperialist conspiracy against Gizenga and in favour sending of U.N. troops aga-inst Gizenga on the trump-ed-up charge that he was ploiting company in Katanga).

the U.N. which nance in the CVer to the Mobutu gangs. And whatever Linner may say, The U.N. is responsible for Gozenga's life

As long as our troops are used in the Congo, India has a vital role to play. Our officers and men cannot be allowed to be used by a U.N. Command which plays the game of the imperialist forces—the old imperialists who seek to retain their stranglehold over the riches of the Congo as well as the new U.S. imperialists, who more powerful than all, seek to grab Congo's wealth for th iselves.

It is a solemn moment for India. Our prestige has risen high following Goa's libera-tion. Let our name not be tion. tion. Let our name not be sullied at this hour, by indifference to our responsibi-lity, together with the rest of anti-imperialisi loving countries and forces, for the safety of Antoine for the Gizenga.

The battle for the release of Gizenga is today the battle for the defence of the Congo from imperialist ravages. Th Indian people must demand that the Government of India uses all the power and influence it commands to ensure that Gizenga is freed and that the imperialist plot to kill him is scotched.

-ROMESH

CHANDRA

BEHIND SUHRAWARDY'S ARREST

JANA SANGH ROGUES

> THE Jana Sangh L put up one Jindal for one of the Parliamentary He is an unknow. seats. person but he made a lo of money during the war and after it. He, it is said is financing some of the Jana Sangh seats for the Corporation.

> Another candidate from outer Delhi Trilok Chandra Sharma, a recent recruit and one of the richest perons in Outer Delhi, is also going to spend a lot of money for the Jana Sangh ninees in the Corpora tion elections.

It has put up Prof. Mahavir for another Parliamentary seat. This gentleman it is said, has been impose on the insistence of RSS ders Kunwar Lal Gunta who supported the Jan Sangh in the Kamla Nagal by-election for a Corpora-tion seat is an Independent candidate from this area. It is said that the Jant

Sangh had promised to sup-port his candidature for nent at this time but now it refuses to fulfil that This is indicative of the

growing influence of the RSS over the Jana Sangh. ome time back some of th Jana Sangh leaders had resigned and formed organisation known as Democratic Jana Sangh.

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

The arrest of Suhra- ed as the colonial inferiors by West Pakistan, Secondiy, the glamour of the military regime has worn out by now. The high expecta-tions generated at the time of the military take-over have been belied. The widely-held view that the Army would at least weed out corruption has disappeared with the new round of patronage that came into the military junta

In fact, the man in the street talks quite openly to-day that the Army take-over s in reality meant the replacement of one group of corrupt civilian-politicians by another group of equally corrupt soldiers-politicians, nothing more.

Thirdly, the weapon of re-pression used so liberally by President Ayub's men had an unexpectedly adverse effect in tho those pockets of Pakistan which had the traditions of political activity in the past.

In East Bengal, although there was a temporary setback for all political elements, no party could be totally smashed up. The Awami League, the up. The Awami League, National Awami Party which Maulana Bhasani is the leader as also the Commu-nist Party could hold on to their bases despite all the rigours of illegal conditions that they had to face.

age by the more powerful groups of the vested interests from West Pakistan led not Ominously significant Rawalpindi has been the growing realisation by these underground Opposition groups in East Pakistan to come to some sort of an

FEBRUARY 3. understanding among them-

selves. It is learnt that during the last six months, very important confabulations had taken place between these three main Oppos tion elements in East Pakistan—the Awami League, the National Awami Party and the C.P.—with the objective of forging a united front.

Of these, the Awami League las by far the widest follow-ng, while Maulana Bhasani has ing, ds tremendous influenc The Communist Party, though small, has come very much into the picture thanks not only to its well-knit organisa-tiin in East Pakistan but t President Ayub's repeated warnings about Red menace which helped to create in the popular mind an understandpopular mind an understand-able impression that the Communists must be formidable enough to earn so much of notice from the strong-man President of Pakistan

The difficulty of thes Opposition groups in East Pakistan had been that they by themselves had no all-Pakistan standing. Hence, they contacted Subrawardy who was once a very active leader of the Awami League.

And so Suhrawardy pro-vided these Opposition groups—all united under the slogan of struggle aga-inst the military dictator-ship—with the much-needed stature of an all-Pakistan leader. For Suhrawardy's part, this was an excellent base for him from which to

Meanwhile, important deve-lopments took place in West rakistan too. It is learnt that Suhrawardy recently held important talks with G. M. Syed's group in Sind. The

operate against the Ayub programme of this group was known to be radica

Though driven to the wall by repression under the mili-tary regime, this group stuck on to its progressive pro-gramme. And so it was natu-* SEE PAGE 17

FROM PAGE 2

n the elections (Dawat, February 4).

Where the democratic move where the democratic move-ment is strong Muslims are coming forward in large num-bers in active support of the parties of democratic opposiion -

But here an exception to be made, especially in the case of the PSP whose influence is on the wane. Its oppor tunistic alliance with th

Muslim League in Kerala has proved to be of little avail. For one thing, its opportu-nism and lack of principle has led it to, fraternise with equal abandon with parties of Hindu communation the form Hindu communalism, the Jana Sangh and the RSS in other parts of the con itry and on

parts of the country and on various occasions. In a place like Jubbalpore where the FSP used to enjoy pride of place with the Con-gress and where Congress in-fluence among Muslims has gone down the BSP teo gone down, the PSP, too, has lost.

CONTEST IN THE CAPITAL

Strangely the election battle in the Indian capital is being carried out without the usual blare of loud-speakers, processions and big rallies. The only excep-tion to this was the rally held by the Congress on January 21, which was addressed by Pandit Nehru. But the poster war is on and one can see all sorts of posters issued by various party candidates, independents and, of course, by deserters and dissatisfied Congressm

THE election tempo is, however, rising day by day. At the present the various parties are satisfied by making house-to-house con-tacts, holding small baithaks and issuing leaflets and posters. In Delhi, the election is being contested in five Par-liamentary and 80 Municipal Corporation seats. The three main parties in the field. in addition to independents, are: the Congress, Communists and boost and raised its me Jana Sangh.

JANA SANGH CHALLENGE

In an interview the Secre-tary of the Delhi State Counby-elections when they asked cil of the CPI. M. Farooqui for votes in the name of the told me that the Commi cow and Hindu Rashtra", he Party is contesting only one Parliamentary seat, but for the Corporation this time it s announced 21 candidat as compared to 14 last time. 'Ten out of these 21 candidates are in the Outer Delhi area from where Baldev Singh is the Communist Party can-didate for the Lok Sabha.

After furnishing these details Farooqui replied to some of the more important estions. Speaking about e main characteristics of mostic said. "the Congress leaders about fighting the menace of made an attempt to patch up their differences but they have failed to do it. This time the present election in Delhi he said: "This time the Congress and the Jana Sangh both are making a the rift is wider and resigna-

tions are coming on a bigger cale. Vaidya Ganapat Ram, a sitting Congress Councillor, is contesting the Outer Parliaconstituency nentary official Congress candidate.

"A number of nosters have appeared during the last few days expressing dissatisfaction with the manner in which tickets have been distributed. In several places tried and trusted old Congressmen have been pushed out and tickets have been given to entirely new people, the only criteria being that they are monied-men.

MUSLIM DISCONTRNT

"There is dissatisfaction among the Muslims that enough Congress tickets have not been given to Muslim

"The Jana Sangh is misusing this dissatisfaction. It has encouraged Muslim independents to stand in the cons-tituencies where there is some percentage of Muslim voters. It is feared that some of the Muslim voters may not go to the polls at all", he observed.

Farooqui revealed that Mirza Ahmad Ali, a sitting member of Rajya Sabha, has been encouraged by the Jana Sangh to contest as an Indepe candidate for Lok Sabha It is also known that Mirza

has put up a candidate in the New Delhi Constituency. This will lead to division of secular was in the Organising Comvotes, and thus help the Jana Sangh. The true role of secu-lar Praja Socialists could have mittee of the Swatantra Party when it was formed in Delhi some time back. not been exposed in a better "Although the Congress lea- way! ders pose to be non-com-munal, secular and so on but he said, "We decided not to NEW AGE

MUSLIMS' DUTY Congress in the two constituencies of Jubbalpore. This time the situation is differrent. Its top leaders have resigned from the Party. The remaining ones are not

prepared to contest on PSI tickets. In the Muslim majority wards PSP influbuilt up over the last ew years has considerably dwindled" (Paigham, Janu ary). Broadly this is true of the PSP everywhere in the

country. Despite the frantic calls of the Jamoat of the Jamaat-e-Islami and other communalists, it is the Communist Party under whose anner the democratic masses of Muslims are gathering to face the battle of the ballots They know the Communist Party as the genuine secular and non-communal party which boldly fights for justice to all the oppressed including the minorities, which consistently fought for the rights of Urdu-speaking' minorities, which removed all disabilities from the Muslims in Kerala during the brief period of its

determined bid to capture a majority in the Municipal Corporation. The Jana Sangh is contesting practi-cally all the seats of the Corporation. Last time it had contested only 55 seats. "It is encouraged by two factors, firstly the two victories in the recent by-elections —Parliamentary and Corporation. That has given it a big

they are really not serious about fighting the communal forces. In one of the by-elections the Communist Party had supported the Congres candidate but the seat wa lost to the Jana Sangh. After this defeat some of the leaders of the Congress had taken the position that they were defeated because of the Communist support", Farooqui

Further he pointed out that Further he pointed out that the Congress leaders are pre-pared to give ticket to a per-son who was in the Swatantra till recently and turned Congressman overnight but they were not prepared to leave even those seats for the Communists where they have no chance.

"Secondly, they are taking A ton Congress leader recently remarked in an arro-gant way that the Commuadvantage of the communal passions generated by the sad events in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. They want nists will not get more than two or three seats. One of their leaders is reported to to consolidate Hindu votes on communal basis. We have have said at a meeting of the Congress workers that after all the main danger the experience of the last two to the Congress is from the Comm

Thus, the local Congress, it About the Congress Farooqui can be said, is not serious

communalism represented by Jana Sangh in Delhi.

About the prospects of vari-

cus parties Farooqui pointed

out that although both the

Congress and the Jana Sangh

claim that they will get a majority in the Corporation,

the fact is that no political

party is likely to get an abso-lute majority.

Replying to my question

about the PSP Farcoqui point-ed out that it has practically no mass influence in Delhi.

"In the last elections they

had put up more candidates than us but they got only one seat and even this lone

seat and even this lone PSPer in the Corporation

deserted them and joined the

"Now with the resignation

of Mir Mushtaq Ahmad the PSP, we might say, has received a death blow. The

leadership of the PSP has

now been taken over by Brij Mohan Toofan, a well-

known anti-Communist who

lives more often in Europe than in Delhi," he said.

The PSP has announced a

dozen candidates for the Cor-

poration elections and they

have particularly chosen those constituencies where the Com-

munists are strong. Their

flag of anti-Communism in

Farooqui said it will be an

election surprise if even one

PSP candidate saved his

For the Parliament the PSP

main purpose is to raise the

these areas.

Congress.

M. FARODOUL Interviewed Bu O. P. MEHROTRA

gainst

lent

contest the Sadar Bazar and Old Delhi City seats because it would split the secular votes and help the Jana Sangh. Party naturally would not like to do this".

To my question about the main aims of the Party in the election Farcoqui re-plied: "FIRSTLY, we want to increase the strength of the Communist Party in the Corporation. SECONDLY, we want to defeat the reaction ary communal THIRDLY, we want the victory of certain independent whose record has been with out any blemish and who are likely to strengthen the democratic forces inside the Cornoration"

About the prospects of the Party be said, "We hope to better our position. To what extent, it is difficult to sav at say at this mo ent." He added are basing our confidence on these factors:

"Our present councillors have nursed their consti-tuencies very well and made a deep impression on the people. In fact, they have been working as whole-timers in these constituencies.

"The work of our councillors inside the Corporation has been very good. We have doggedly defended the people's interest, we have fought for more rights for the elected wing as against the executive, against corruption and nepotism for better amenities against any in · civi creas in civic taxes, rates, etc. against the demolition of so called unauthorised with regard to slums by which the slum dwellers would be settled in those very areas rather than being up rooted

Our councillors have studied the civic problem thoroughly, made constructive proposals and suggestions and fought for their adoption. The merit of our work inside the Corporation and outside i cognised even by our opponents.

COMMUNIST ADVANCE

"During the last few years our activities have increased rapidly. We have taken up popular demands and cam-paigned for them. Our Party branches and workers have taken up the day-to-day problems of the people.

"We have put up tried and trusted comrades, including workers and scheduled caste comrades, who have done hard work in the areas from where they are contesting.

"Of course, we know our difficulties Both the Jone Sangh and the Congress have plenty of money at their disposal. We cannot match with them on this score. Both of these parties will raise all sorts of communal and caste slogans in the elections in their own way. It is not going to be an easy fight for us and our comrades know, it very well. But we hope on the basis of factors enumerated above that we will overcome some of these difficulties and impro our position.

Asked about the Swatantra Party Farooqui said "let us not joke about it." Swatantra is not a problem here.

PSP LOSES ITS LEADER

T WENTYTWO years ago, while translat-ing Persian records into English, the urge of duty to the country inspired me to resign from the **Government** Service and join the freedom move ment.

"The concept of freedom has brought in its wake the struggle for power and to seize it the political parles have thrown overboard ideals, principles and even basic values, creating conbasic values, creating confusion worst confounded The results are obvious.

"After 12 years of the birth of our biggest demo-cracy in the world the nation today is as much isintegrated as it was never before. An end has to e put to this rot as other it will endanger the very foundation of d cracy.

"I feel that a dogmatic approach to human life, under the party inhibited whip restricts growth of lemocratic values and the cause of integration can not be best served.

"Inspired by urge of duty to the country I have under the existing circumstances decided to disassociate myssociate my elf from all political par ties and devote myself ex-clusively to the task of unity, solidarity and serunity, solidarity a vice of the people.

"In my humble way : yould like to walk along but freely as my conscience dictates. I bear no ill-will gainst any individual or party and my sympathies and support would, as in past, be always with demo-cratic-secular-socialist elenents.

"Just as I have lived t ee the end of foreign omination so shall I continue to hope and live to see India achieving fulles nationhood and Socialism by means advocated by Gandhiji, the Father of th Nation '

MIR MUSHTAQ AHMAD



EDITOR: P. C. Josh

Printed by D. P. Sinha at f EW ACE dewallan Estate, M. M ad, New Delhi, and publish by him from 7/4, Asaf Ali Road New Delhi.

> Telegraphic Address MARXBADI

Phone : 225794

SUBSRIPTION RATES LAND: Yearly Rs. 12-0-0

Half-yearly Rs. 6-0-0 and Quarterly Rs. 3-0-0. OREIGN : Yearly Rs. 20-0-0 Half-yearly Rs. 10-0-0.

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PAGE FIVE

By MAHESH PRASAD

A scrutiny of the performance of the Congress Government in solving one of the most vital problems affecting the lives of the major section of the Indian nation, viz. the land problem presents a sorry and dismal picture.

ade and a half back and with would be taken for the speedy solution of the agrarian prolevelopment and the aspirations of the multi-million orking peasantry of India. On the eve of each general workin

election during the last decade the Congress party has been rousing the hopes of the peasantry and making bold pro-

The holdness of its proclamations has, however, been only matched by its and surrender before the big landowning vested interests who stand in the-way of a pro-peasant solution of the land pro-

The Congress election propaganda for the third gene-ral elections is again based on an exaggerated picture of its out doubt. achievements in the sphere of land reforms and equally vague and audacious promises for the future

This is fully borne out by a piecing together of the data and observations supplied by the Planning Commission the Planning Commission which is the official agency for the formulation and evaof the progress notion planned development in In-

According to the Planning Commission, the objectives of land reforms in India were two fold.

To create conditions for the evolution of an agri-cultural economy with high levels of productivity and To eliminate all elements

of social injustice and exploitation within the agrarian system, to provide security to the tiller of the soil and assure equality of status and opportunity to all sections of the rural population.

FINE OBJECTIVES

These objectives were sought to be achieved by: abolition of intermediaries or rent-receiving interests; —the reform of tenancy in-

cluding regulation and reduction of rent; security tenure; the conferment of right of ownership to tenants: and finally, the imposition of ceilings on agricultural holdings. The above measures, if im-

ented, were expected to lead to the conversion of the vast majority of cultivators in India into peasant proprie-tors. In due course, these peasants were "to be encouraged and assisted in organising themselves into voluntary cooperative bodies for credits, marketting; purchasing, dis-tribution and with their consent, progressively also into production.

Fine objectives with which no one would have any dis-agreement! But what is the performance? Let us review the progress in each sphere At the time of independen-

PAGE SIX

T was expected that with zamindaris, jagirs and inams the transfer of power to the covered more than forty per Congress Party about a de- cent of the area of the country. The work of abolition of the inauguration of the era of intermediary tenures was planned national develop- completed mainly during the

ment, urgent and active steps First Five-Year Plan and in respect of certain States during the period of the Second blem in response to the re- Plan According to the Plan-quirements of rapid economic ning Commission, as a consequence of the abolition of in-termediary tenures more than 20 millions of tenants were brought into direct relationship with the State and their social and economic position was enhanced. Further, considerable means of cultivable waste land and private forests came under the management

of the Government. The contribution of this measure of land reforms in curbing the powers of landlords which earlier functioned both as landowners and the appropriators of vast amounts of rental incomes, illegal exaction and labour services, etc., from the tenants under them, must be acknowledged with-

LAND TO THE STATE

At the same time, it is necessary to stress that the scheme of abolition of intermediaries as drawn and implemented has to be very clearly distinguished from the outright abolition of landlordism or non-cultivating ownership of land which had been the cornerstone of Congress proclam tions of land policy in the pre-independence period. The abolition of intermedia-ries resulted in transfer of ownership of lands not to the actual cultivators of the

soil but to the state. It was a necessary part of the scheme that the tenants would continue to pay the same rents to the State which were earlier being paid to the landlords.

Thus, the very first measure of land reforms in indepen-dent India failed to provide to the tiller of the soil any substantial material benefit nor did it have much of that psychological impact on the d of the peasantry which in the case of many countries was seen to release the latent productive energies of the peasant masse

In as much as the landlords were permitted to retain their hold over vast areas of sir and khudkasht lands which were supposed to be under their personal cultivation but were in most cases actually cultivated by tenants at will or farm labourers, considerable scope remained for the persistence of landlord-tenant relationships and the diver-gence between ownership of land and its cultivation over large parts of the countryside in India. One of the principal de-

mands voiced by the peasant movement ever since its birth had been for the reduction of the rental burden. According to the Planning Commission at the time of independence the customary level of rents commonly paid by tenantsat-will, non-acco npancy tenactions of independen- ants and share-croppers over addiary tenures like the greater part of the coun-

GOVT. LAND REFORMS

try was one-half of the pro-

duce or more. In addition to rent, very frequently there were other payments which enhanced the burdens borne by tenants. The First Five Year Plan had recommended that "a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce would call for special justification." In the past years legislative measures have been adopted fixing a maximum limit to the amount of rent a landlord can legally charge from the tenants.

LARGE

VARIATIONS

There are large variations in the legislations of different States in respect of the level of rent legally chargeable from the tenants. In Punjab, for instance, it is still one-third of gross produce. In Madras it exceeds one-third in some cases. In Andhra, Jammu Kashmir, and West Bengal (in case of crop shares) it is in some cases as much as half of the gross produce.

This is as regards the loop-holes in the .egislations of different States. Even when the legislations have provided for reduction of rents, there have been serious failures in the field of implementation. The Planning Commission

in this connection candidly stated: "In the early years of tenancy legislation, it was observed that reduced levels of rents and indeed other conditions of tenancyprovided for by legislation were far from adequately enforced, and to a large extent customary rates continued to prevail.

"Where arrangements for leasing land are arrived at between individual parties, variation from the norms set by legislation can occur for a variety of reasons, for ins-tance if the owner undertakes to provide seed or bullocks or **ENFORCEMENT** pay for irrigation. "In the beginning, there is

also considerable ignorance on the part of tenants of the rights granted by legislation Where there is pressure on land, and the social and economic position of tenants in the village is weak, it becomes difficult for them to seek the protection of law.

TOO COSTLY

"Moreover, resort to legal processes is costly and gene-rally beyond the means of tenants. Thus, in many ways, despite the legislation, the scales are weighted in favour of the continuance of existing terms and aco of existing terms and con-

tation of tenancy legisla-tion, therefore, requires tion, therefore, requires specially vigorous and sus-tained action on the part of

"There must be special efforts not only to acquaint tenants with the rights due to them but also to bring about greater understanding on the part of the people of each area of the objects of land reforms and of the need to com-plete them without delay".

The failure of the adminis tration to enforce the reduced levels of rent on which the Planning Commission has laid so much emphasis is, how-ever, only part of the truth. The basic malady lies in the very character of the scheme of land reforms.

It must be noted that in most of the Asian countries where the population pressure is high and land is the scarce factor in relation to the manpower resources, no significant reduction in rental levels can be effected as long as the landiords are allowed to exercise a monopolistic or semi-monopolistic over the land resources. In the context of enormous

competition for land it is this



vation.

hired labourers.

much avail.

status quo

GOAL NOT

view of small owners".

REACHED

progress has in this field.

ables the landowner to realise rents much higher than those prescribed by the legislation and to neatly circumvent land laws and other administrative provisions

Without attacking this land concentration and bringing about radical redistribution of land among the land-hur gry peasant masses the reduction of rental burdens is not a very practicable proposition.

Legislation for security of tenure, according to the Planning Commission, has three principal aims-first, that ejectments do not take place excent in accordance with the provisions of the law; second-ly, that land may be resumed by an owner, if at all, for personal cultivation only; and thirdly, that in the event of resumption the tenant is assured of a prescribed mini-

TENANTS **EVICTED**

In order to ascertain how far the intentions of the Governments to provide security of tenure have actually been translated into practice, we may quote the following parafrom the Report of the Third Five Year Plan.

"As stated earlier, the impact of tenancy legislation on the welfare of tenants has been in practice less than was hoped for One of the princi-pal reasons for this is that in a number of States ejectments of tenants have taken place n a considerable scale, under the plea of 'voluntary surrenders'.

"Two main recommendations in this respect were made in the Second Plan. The first was that voluntary surrenders by tenants of lands held by them should not be regarded as valid unless they were duly registered by revenue authorities.

"Secondly, in the event of surrender of tenancy the landowner should be entitled to take possession of land only o the extent of his right resumption permitted by law. "On the whole, both legislation and administrative action have fallen short of these recommendations... The second lacuna in the

existing legislation concerns the conditions applicable to surrenders... As pointed out in the Second Plan, most voluntary surrenders of tenancy are open to doubt bona fide transactions. This has been confirmed by such enquiries and investigations as have been under-

It is clear from the above that large-scale ejection of tenants in the wake of and following the tenancy legislation and its implementation have by and large frustrated the objective of tenancy reforms. Here again the Planning Commission lays stress only on the administrative failures and deficiency. What it fails to underline is the fact that the ejectment of logically followed produce. character of the 1 It had from the scheme of land reforms pronosed

Important in this connec-

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

-DISMAL FOR POOR, GOOD FOR RICH

a landlord could resume land if he was prepared to under-take cultivation of land under his personal supervision without himself engaging in phy-sical participation in major agricultural operations, i.e., a landowner engaged in cultivation by hiring agricultural labourers was also taken for one engaged in personal culti-

According to this scheme the erstwhile landlords who were so far mere rent-receivers were encouraged to evict their tenants from their lands and to rehabilitate themselves as privileged agriculturists by

re-employing in most cases the same evicted tenants as In fact, the superior social and economic position of the landowners enabled them to effect "voluntary surrenders" of the tenancies. The threat to the secu-rity of tenure of the tenants and their eviction on a large scale was the logical culmination of the principles and procedures underlying the the scheme of land reforms. Once again it becomes evident that without making centration and without pro viding for re-distribution of

land among the actual tenants, legislative provisions for of tenure are not of The landlords are always in a position to devise ingenious ways of circumventing tenan-

The Planning Commission has itself stated that: "Pro-visions regarding resumption for personal cultivation could be abused if medium-sized owners' were to act mala fide and transfer their lands to relatives or others and so come within the pur-

The goal of land reforms is to convert tenants into full-fledged peasant proprietors. Even after a full decade of planning not much significant progress has been registered

The first Plan had recommended that tenants of nonresumable areas be entitled to acquire ownership, However, wherever this right was optional it was scarcely exer-cised for lack of resources with the tenants to pay the

compensation price. The Second Plan, therefore, recommended that steps be taken to convert tenants into owners (in respect of areas which the owner is not entitled to resume) and to make arrangements to recover compensation in easy instalments. To ensure that the tenant

retains adequate resources for efficient cultivation, the total annual burden of land revenue and compensation instalment should not exceed the

arrented by the Flanning on the Government. "Yet, the total impact of ommission. In the absence of ade- land reforms has been less According to the definitions quate information it is not, than had been hoped for. For

possible to say to what ex-tent rights of ownership ave actually accrued to tenants. The Planning Com mission itself has been ex-tremely hesitant to claim any more than "some progress" in the direction of providing ownership rights to tenants.

It can, however, be guessed that the terms and conditions of confirment of ownership rights adopted by different states have been full of com-plexities and by and large very much beyond the resources and capacities of the tenantry.

It is generally agreed that the cultivators of area mainly unowned constitute the largest body of the peasantry and bulk of cultivated area in the country is tilled by those who do not enjoy full-fledged rights of ownership over their lands.

The principle that there should be an absolute limit to the amount of land which an individual may hold was commended in the First Five Year Plan.

CEILINGS a frontal assault on land con-

The Second Plan recommended that steps be taken in each State to impose ceilings on existing holdings. Ceilings, thus, had been considered as essential for the econo-mic development of a country like India having limited areas cy laws and preserving the of land and large population

dependent on it. Reduction in disparities of land ownership was regarded as a necessary condition for the building up of a progressive, cooperative rural ecor my. It was also felt that such redistribution of land as might be possible would, along with other measures, afford a measure of opportunity to the landless sections of the population.

There was considerable legislative activity in regard to land ceilings during the Second Plan

On the whole, however, it is now admitted in all quarters that legislation has been so full of gaps and loopholes in determining whether ceilings should apply to individuals or fami-lies, in fixing the level of ceilings, in providing for exemptions to certain categories of farms, and in its failure to forestall the circumvention of the laws through mala fide transfers and partitions of property, that it would not be very wrong to characterise the entire land celling legislation as a huge farce and fraud being perpetrated on the Indian peasantry. The Planning Commission

itself has been compelled to admit it very frankly in its Report on the Third Five Year Plan.

correct to say that in recent years, transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of level of fair rent, i.e., one- tended to defeat the aims of fourth or one-fifth of gross the legislation for cellings and broduce. It had also been proposed 'rural economy''. that the aggregate of com-pensation and interest there-of the land reforms during

Important in this connec- on should be fully recovered the First and Second Five tion is the concept of personal from the tenants and should Year Plan the Planning Com-cultivation as defined and in- not throw additional burden mission has remarked:

his there are several reasons. of the Congress In the first place, there has been too little recognition of land reform as a positive programme of development, and it has only been too often re-garded as extraneous to the fer of land to the tiller. scheme of community develop. The Congress variety ment and the effort to increase agricultural production.

"Secondly, there has been insufficient attention to the administrative aspects of land reforms. Frequently at the lower levels of the adminis. tration, collusion and evasion have gone unchecked and there has been failure also to enlist the support and sanc-tion of the village community in favour of effective enforce-ment of legal provisions.

"In the third place, it has not been sufficiently realised that the reform of land tenures and the early enforcer of ceilings are an essential foundation for the building up of the cooperative rural economy

From the brief survey of land reform legislation its implementation during the last decade certain definite conclusion can be drawn.

In the first place, it is ne-cessary to rationalise and tighten up the administrative procedures and machiner with a view to putting into effect whatever beneficial measures are embodied in the land laws of different States.

It is the task of the organised peasant movement in the country and its leaderthe country and his leader-ship to safeguard the bene-ficial features of the land reform legislations against the covert or overt onslau-ght by the big landowners and to press for their effec-ting implementation tive implementation.

REVALUATE SCHEME

At the same time it is also essential that the entire scheme of land reforms is basically re-evaluated and recast from the point of view of the long term goals of land policy in the context of plan-ned economic development of the country along non-capita-listic lines. It is high time that the issues are clearly posed. Attention needs to be shar-

ply focussed on the fact that whatever may have been the declarations and professions

scheme proposed by it during the last decade have not provided for the complete abolition of non-cultivating ownership of land and the trans-

The Congress variety of land reforms have been leading to the slow transformation of semi-feudal landownerships into big capitalist landownership, i.e., to the gradual rehabilitation of the n-cultivating landlords of yesterday into entrepreneur landlord farmers of today.

This kind of development in agriculture is essentially antagonistic to the interests of the vast peasant masses in the countryside who have been clamouring for land and security.

ACTIVISE PEASANTS

It is clear from the expe-rience of the two Five Year Plans that so long as the concentration of land in the hands of non-cultivating landowners is left intact it is idle to imagine that any scheme of reforms in the interests of the peasant masses will ever be fully and successfully implement ed.

The crucial question is, therefore, whether there is enough political will and preparedness on the part of the ruling party to attack land concentration in the hands of the non-cultivating landed interests and to seriously implement a scheme of land plement's scheme of land re-distribution in favour of the working peasantry. The Congress variety of land reforms have been one

of the crucial factors respon-sible for the creation of the class base for the emergence and penetration of the right reactionary forces. in the and penetration of the right reactionary forces. in the countryside represented, by the Swatantra Farty and the Jana Sangh, aided and abet-ted by the formidable reactionary sections inside the Congress Party itself.

The only guarantee for res-tricting and finally defeating these right reactionary forces which are raising their ugly head on the Indian scene is head on the indian scene is how strong and organised the Left forces led by the Com-munist Party emerge after, the third elections to carry on the battle for land to the tiller and prosperity of the toiling peasantry.

C	mmunist Party Election Pamp	hlets	
1.	Election Manifesto	20 nP	. A.
2.	Third Elections—Communist Challenge, by Ajoy Ghosh	25 nP	
3.	Release Long-term Political Prisoners	10 nP	
4.	National Income-distribution and rate of growth	25 nP	
5.	The Big. Loot—brief study of foreign exploitation in India, by Bhupesh Gupta		
		25 nP	•
6.	inder Congress haj	25 nP	
7.	Working Class under Congress Raj	25 nP	1
8.	Who pays for our Plans?—An analysis of Congress taxation policy	25 nP	
9.	Wages since independence	25 nP	i.
10.	Big Business under Congress Raj	25 nP	
11.	Kerala and the ugly face of Congress by E. M. S. Namboodiripad	25 nP	
12.	Shame of Free India	25 nP	ċ
13.	Why Women Should Vote Communist	25 nP	5
	PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING ROUSE NEW DELHI 1		

PAGE SEVEN

NEW AGE

"On the whole, it would be



Two families share a momtarpaulin provides privacy!

Three storied room-floor, charpoy, bedhome for 10 persons.

A T. B. patient shares this room with his wife and five childre

CALCUTTA'S

Area-37 sq. miles. - Population-29.26.494.

- Density per sq. mile-90,550 as against the internationally accepted standard of 64,000 per sq. mile.

- Over 19,000 people are "pavement-dwellers", living permanently on footpaths alongside of public thoroughfares.

- About 30 per cent of single - member households and 20 per cent of multihouseholds do not member possess a living room for their nse They just manage to live how in a part of a verandah or underneath the staircase or in a shop.

- Only about 7.5 per cent of the total number of fami-lies in the city live in separate flats.

- 30 per cent of the families have to share one single room with two other familie

- 33 per cent of the families live in one room each. But in over 80 per cent of these families the number of members per family varies from seven to ten, when a floor space of 40 sq. ft. is universally accepted as the mini-mum requirement for every person.

- If all the families in the city are taken together, 70 per cent of the small-sized fami-lies and 75 per cent medium and large-sized families live in horribly over crowded con-

- 72 per cent of the families live either in pucca or in Cholera partly pucca and partly kut-chha houses.

- There are no electric lights in 39 per cent, no sepa-rate toilets in 33 per cent and no provision for filtered water supply in 23 per cent of the

- House-rent has gone up by 200-300 per cent during the past ten years. It is now difficult to get a two-roomed flat for anything less than Rs. 150 or a single room for less than Rs. 50 a month.

- Daily supply of filtered water is less than 30 gallons per head as against the minimum requirement of 60 gal-lons per head per day.

-There are no underground sewers in 19 sq. miles or 46 per cent of the total area of the city. Underground chan-nels in the sewered areas and open drains in other parts can no longer carry all the storm-water and sewage of the city, because they have silted up to as much as 70 per cent of their carrying capacity. The result is complete flooding of the city's streets whenever there is a heavy downpour.

---- There are still 46.000 service privies in this metropo-litan city!

-The daily accumulation of garbage in the city amounts to 2,200 tons. But the rate of disposal is only 2.000 tons a day. The rotting garbage on the streets and lanes presents not merely a horribly ugly sight; it fouls the air of the localities concerned.

· Little wonder, that in these overcrowded and insanitary conditions, preventible diseases continue to take a heavy toll of lives. The following figures speak for themselves: The following

.. 10,767

.. 27,785

.. 4,670

.. 4.650

Small-pox Gastro intestinal diseases

Total

cent of the total population of the city or over nine lakh people live in these slums in indescripably horrible conditions of filth, squalor and poverty.

- 72 per cent of all the families live in one room each.

- There is no arrangement for the supply of filtered water in 61.7 per cent of the slums. This percentage goes up as high as 98.7 in Tangra area of East Calcutta.

- Open drains and service privies, breeding files and tilling the air with a foul smell, are to be found in every single slum.

- On an average, 23 persons in a slum use one service privy. In many cases, how-ever, the pressure is as much as 45 persons to a privy!

- During the rains, when almost all slums become water-logged, the rooms and courtyards of huts, privies and lanes are transformed into one stinking cesspool of garbage and nightsoil!

- Yet, for the privilege of living in such a paradise, the slum-dwellers have to pay to Calcutta Corporation taxes at the rate of 23.5 per cent of the valuation of the huts, while the rate charged from the owners of pucca houses range from 15-19 per cent!

- 27 per cent of the city's opulation live in the slums; but the incidence of cholera deaths in these slums is as high as 43.8 per cent of the total deaths from the disease in the city. A Mission of the WHO

.. 47,872 which visited Calcutta two

- No. of slums - 3,615. years ago, observed: "The re-gion of endemic cholera in In-dia falls mainly within West in reality a programme the eviction of the si Bengal. Greater Calcutta, particularly its slums are the chief centres of this disease". 0

ers employed in organised in-dustries in West Bengal. Under the "Industrial Housing Schethe "Industrial Housing Sche-me", the State Government The reasons are not far to had planned to build 14,715 tenements during the first two Plans (1951-61). But till now. only 5,830 tenements have

been completed. The Union Government had sanctioned loans amounting to Rs. 4,23,50,000 for West Bengal for the cons-truction of 4,681 flats under the "Low Income-Group Housing Scheme", during 1951-61. But the total amount of the loans disbursed by the State Government was only Rs. 1,29,72,000. The rest of the

sanctioned money lapsed to the Centre just because the State Government could not distribute it! As against the target of 4.681 flats. the number built was only 1,109. • The State Government had planned to provide housing facilities for 1,000

working women during the Second Plan period. But provision could be made for only 171 women

The Government prepared the blueprints of two schemes for the "re-housing"

of slum-dwellers. But pre-cious little has been done so far. Even if the schemes had been implemented in time it would still take at least a century, at this rate of progress, to provide housing faci-lities to all the slum-dwellers!

Secondly, the Government's "slum-clearance" scheme is, the slur dwellers.

There are no quarters for ment Trust (CIT) built 80 per cent of the work- 800 tenemints for the slumdwellers during the past five years. But over 60 per cent of

> In the first place, the tenements are situated at a place, which is far off from the places of work of the slum-dwellers. Secondly, the monthly rent, ranging from Rs. 19.50 to Rs. 21.50, is beyond their paying capacity. The monthly income of 59 per cent of the slum-dwellers varies from Rs. 1 to Rs. 100 and about 60 per cent of them now pay a house-rent of Rs. 5-10 a month.

(Sources: Report of the Soclo-economic Survey of Cal-cutta, conducted by the Uni-versity of Calcutta. Vital Sta-tistics Compiled by Calcutta Corporation. West Bengal's First And Second Five Year Plans. West Bengal Govern-ment's publication, "Progress of Development Pro-jects". Report on conditions in the city's slums-report of a survey conducted by the State Government.)

> -JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

(Photos By Satya Sen, Swadhinata.)



Midnight in aristocratic Chowringhee. PAGE EIGHT

Unemployed primary school teacher at in the heart of Calcutta NEW AGE

Drinking water-tap, garbage heap and open drain peacefully coeviet

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

By RAJ BAHADUR GOUR

The Razakar organisation, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. which was inactive ever since Police Action in Hyde rabad has become active since the last one year. It came with a bang into Andhra politics, particularly in Hyderabad city, when it won as many as 17 seats in the municipal elections in the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation and became the main opposition party in the Corporation.

N a recent by-election, results of which were announ-ced only last week, the Majlis organisation has retained its seat, defeating the Congress candidate. Public meetings held by Majlis leader, Abdul Wahab Owaisi. nominee of Kasim Razvi, are being at-tended by thousands of Mus-lims and he is heard with rapt attention. Owaisi had the gumption to make such shockremarks in public meeting that "unfortunately, pal and Jabalpur could not be avenged".

Muslim Discontent

How could this notorious communal organisation gain ground so fast? Why?

Kasim Razvi, after release from jail, installed Owaisi as the president of the organisa-tion and left for Pakistan.

For the first time, Majlis entered the municipal elec-tion in 1960 and carried overwhelmingly the Muslim mass-es with it. Why? There were two reasons for it.

Immediately after Police Action, the huge private army of the Nizam was dis-banded; many departments which were unnecessary after integration with In dian Union were dispensed with and these resulted in

ised but... in The joining of hands by

muinty.

From Our Correspondent

After the withdrawal Congress is divided into two date the real battle for groups — the ministerialists votes is in full swing in and the PCC. The PCC wing this State. If the number of seats being contested can be the criteria then the Jana Sangh is the bigista gest challenge to Congress in Madhya Pradesh. It has put up 195 candidates for the Vidhan Sabha.

UT the real and formidgress is not from without but from within. According to the unofficial reports reaching Bhopal as many as 30 Con-gressmen are contesting elec-tion as independents against the official candidates of the

party. The biggest setback to Con-West Nimar gress came from West Nimar where the DCC President has resigned as a protest against the allotment of Lok Sabha licket to K. L. Khadiwala. Another equally important setback to the Congress was from Bilaspur where the no-mination papers of the Con-gress candidate for Lok Sabha were rejected on the basis of the objection raised with the help of a Congressman. Due to the rejection of the nomination of the Congress candination of the Congress cand-date, the PCC Chief decided drawn up for the tours of all to abandon the Bilaspur Lok India party leaders. Sabha seat. As is well-known the M.P. in such a way that they would

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thousands of Muslims becoming unemployed. The replacement of Urdu.

which was the State language, by English and the' regional languages, resulted in the dis-placement of many employees who did not know any other language except. Urdu. The abolition of jagirs also led to unemployment of many jagir

employees. The Government had no alternative policy of industrial development to absorb even a fraction of these unemployed. At least a programme of development of Hyderabad dis-trict around Hyderabad city would have created opportu-nities of employment.

This led to serious frus-This led to serious frus-tration among the Muslim masses which was cashed in by the Majlis leader plus the ideological moorings of the Muslims that they had belonged to the ruling com-

This does not mean that there was no opposition to the revival of the Majlis. Many serious thinking people ques-tioned the wisdom of Majlis revival and said that in a secular democracy, minorities could be benefited not by

forming organisations of their own, but by joining and asso-clating with secular democra-tic parties. Their efforts could have met with some success,

Razakars Revive Congress with the Muslim League in Kerala gave the Majlis leadership an addi-tional argument that Muslims, by rallying together among themselve bluon better bargain with the rul-ing party. Moreover, a sec-

ion of Congress leadership in the city felt that Muslims vere rallying behind the Communist Party and the P.D.F. for a positive economic programme and this could be prevented if a this Muslim organisation like the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen comes on to the scene.

Thus, the failure of Congress government to find solutions to the economic pro-blems of the Muslim masses as also its alliance with Muslim League in Kerala were mainly responsible for the rise of Muslim communalism in the city, posing a serious threat to its democratic life and traditions.

Dizzy With Success

Dizzy with successes at the polls in the municipal elec-tions and confident of making further headway, the Majlis decided to contest eight as-sembly seats and one parliamentary seat in the coming elections. Its president Owaisi himself is in the run for Parliament.

The Majlis Manifesto, be-sides being reactionary, makes funny reading in some aspects.

The Manifesto, which raises a hue and cry about the India-China border dis-

pute and wants a militant stand to be taken against China, is significantly silent on the India-Pakistan border dispute. The Majlis

newspaper Rehnuma-e-Deccan tently campaigns against the very basic tenets of our foreign policy. The Manifesto spits venom against Socialist countries and the Communist

Party. On the national plane, they are "opposed to spending crores on heavy industries". and they argue in favour of only small-scale industries. The Manifesto does not talk at all about agrarian reforms. It shouts against increase in prices but keeps mum on state trading in foodgrains.

On the social plane, the Manifesto wants repeal of the Special Marriage Act only validates inter-communal marriages.

They want withdrawal of Government notification prohibiting polygamy among government employees, de-claring that this is interference with Islam which allows polygamy up to four wives. When it was pointed out to them that even the out to them that even the attacks against the Prime Pakistan Government ban-med polygamy among all ed: "It is unfortunate we people, their answer is: could not avenge Bhopal and Pakistan is not an example Jabalpur." and it is not a theocratic Sensing this communal dangovernment!

At present, there is serious that the Majlis president tool

be visiting only such places munal elements in this city which are the strongholds single-handedly.

of the PCC group. On the other hand, minis-On the other hand, minis-terialists are also not behind their best to sabotage the chances of victory of the can-didates belonging to the PCC group.

In Bhopal region, Dr. Sharma, Education Minister is supporting a dissident Congressman, who is contesting the polls as an independent candidate, aga-inst the official candidate, Suraj Kala Sahal, The Jana

beiong to the PCC group, with this strategy he wants to ensure the defeat of some ministerialists and, thus, clear that the Congressmen-reducing their majority in the Assembly. principles for which their party stands. By and large they are self-seekers and worry, about their personal interests.

The Madhya Pradcsh PSP which has put up 140 candi-dates for the Vidhan Sabha to put up a single candidate for the city constituencies. The PSP unit of Jabalpur

for the city constituencies. The PSP unit of Jabalpur came out with a statement that it was not setting up any candidate because of the con-fusion created offer the statement that it was not setting up any candidate because of the con-fusion created offer the statement that it was not setting up any that fusion created after the riots. Due to the withdrawal of Hindu communalist Udhay the PSP from the election Das Mehta, who is contesting scene, the Communist Party will have to face the com-the Communist Party.

NEW AGE

It is regrettable to note It is regrettable to note that the Congress candi-dates in this city are such against whom the charge of complicity in the riots were levelled by the secular elements in the city, which included many Congress-men also. It is an open secret that the complaints to this effect were lodged with the various delega-tions of the Congress which visited this city after the visited this city after the riots.

programme. The candidates interaction of high integrity. In Bhopal urgent need for a policy and where the veterat of the party Shakir Ali Khan is contesting, secular forces. It should be a solicy which eschews comwhich has put and dates for the Vidhan Sabha where the than is contesting, is also a divided house. In Shakir Ali Khan is contesting, Jabalpur they fought among the Congress has set up a rich themselves: on the issue of man with no political record. Mayoral elections and failed His only qualification is his to nut up a single candidate capacity to spend money like water.

Flection, will be between the Hindu communalist Udhay

subsequently put up as can-didates, his own son and his close associates, none of whom have any political standing even inside the Majlis.

-The primary majlis unit in Sabzimandi and Hussaini Alam have revolted against the Majlis leadership.

-It is also stated that the Majlis president threw over-board the recommendations of Mailis parliamentary board and put up his own n

-In Yakutpura constituency, the Majlis youth is sup-porting one who was offered Majlis ticket, but who has declined it.

-The Majlis nominee in Mailepalli is opposed .by two candidates who revolted within the Majlis.

-There is a rebel Majlis candidate in the person of a poor rickshaw puller who was member of Mailis.

Mailis leaders' electioneer. ing campaign and their spee-ches are provocative, reckless, mean and more important rouse communal passions rouse communal passions among Muslims. They would not hesitate to make mean attacks against the Prime Minister and they even stat-ed: "It is unfortunate we could not avenge Bhopal and

ger to the democratic life in the city, the Communist Party conflict within the Majlis and made an offer to Congress it centres round the authori-saying that the Majlis danger tarianism of the Majlis Pre-sident, Owalsi. It is stated that the Majlis president took money from many people, Sangh is also raising its ugly promising them tickets, but head in the State, that RSS parades have become more frequent and, therefore, in the interests of strengthening the secular foundations of Rising Tempo In Madhya Pradesh the secular foundations or democracy, Congress, along with Communities, Congress, along difference of the secular found other democratic secular forces, fight this danger.

But unfortunately, Con-gress President, Sanjeeva Reddi himself rejected this offer. Some Congress lea-ders in the city pleaded ders in the city pleaded helplessness saying that even if they wanted such a policy to be adopted, it would be difficult to imple-ment it since the number of applicants for Congress seats is treble or four-fold the seats available. More-over, there are hardly any people inside the Congress who could think on such broad political lines. The Communist Party holds

The Jana Sangh, which that the Congress, for the hopes to emerge as the main purpose of securing political opposition in the State, is power in Kerala, could align power in Kerala, could align itself with Hindu, Nair, Mus-lim and Catholic communal opposition in the State, is power in Kerala, could align appealing to the electorate on itself with Hindu, Nair, Mus-the basis of communalism and lim and Catholic communal spending large sums to fetch in the votes. It is only the Communist Party which is contesting the election on the basis of its programme. The candidates

> policy which eschews communalism and discrimination against minorities. It should be a programme of industrial and economic development to fight unemployment and there should be unity among all democratic forces to achieve such a programme of deve-

Iopment. Unfortunately, the Con-gress has neither that policy nor programme nor even the desire to get such unity.

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which enjoys the support of the Jain business houses in the State is busy in an inner struggle with the ministerial-The PCC Chief M. C. Deshlahra who, has ac-quired the reputation of being the intriguer par excellence, is using the

party machinery to support only those candidates who belong to the PCC group, With this strategy he wants

How indisciplined the Con-gress organisation is, has been potlighted by the withdrawa of Gayatri Devi, a sitting Congress member and an official candidate for the third general elections, in favour of her husband, who filed his nomination as a dummy. This surprise decision of Gayatri Devi forced the Congress to treat her husband

as the official candidate, Another method by which the PCC Chief is undermining the interests of his opponents is the plan which he had

CONGRESS BREAKS FAITH WITH THE PEOPLE

Pandit Nehru has been reiterating in his present whirlwind tour that the only party in the country which has de-livered the goods, redeemed its pledge is the Congress. He proclaims everywhere that the record of the Congress—and not of any particular candidate-should be the criterion for actorate. We shall take him at his word.

ET us put Congress profes- the start of the Third Plan" with

sions side by side with Congress practice for the limited period since the last elecs in 1957. Let us leave aside land reforms which is a parti-cularly glaring case of broken pledges. Mahesh Prasad deals at length with this aspect on nages of this is

The 1957 Congress Election Manifesto stated: "We have made good progress and laid the foundations of the new India of our dres Take the growth of national

Over the entire period of the two plans, national income increased only by 42 per cent or at the rate of 3.05 per cent per annum (compound). This is a annum (compound). This is a rate lower than that of even many underdeveloped countries. Per capita income rose only by 18.7 per cent in this whole

At this rate, we shall take many many years—and not 25 years as the First Plan calculated—to double our per. capita income, The Second Plan fixed cer-

tain industrial targets. Though 123). modest, many of them have not Who been reached. Moreover, as the before Third Plan Report says, "the ' found shortfalls have occurred in of the benefits recokned on for

MONOPOLIES

FLOURISH

(p. 454). For instance, the target for steel was 4.3 million tons. It has reached only 2.2 million For nitrogenous fertilizers the ective figures are 290 thousand and 110 thousand tons. For cement, 13 million and 8.5 million tons. Production of machineries to produce textil

cement and paper as well as of several other items is far bend the schedule. Our agricultural produc-

tion, on which depends the state of our economy as a whole, remains precariously dependent on monsoon des-pite the expenditure of over 1,500 crore rupees. It barely keeps pace with the growth of population. During the last three years we had to im-port 12 million tons of foodarains.

So unsatisfactory is the food situation that the Third Plan Report had to admit that "relative stability of the foodgrain prices latterly has been due largely to PL 480 imports" ' (p.

Who can, with these facts before him, assert that "the foundation of the new India of our dreams' have been laid? short and those very industries. The claim had little basis in which are of crucial importance. reality in 1957. The position has and have deprived the economy not changed substantially even

"It passes ones comprehension as to how in these days of socialist transition in the country... business tycoons in the corporate sector are still allowed to wield ver over so large a ber of companies as ten or more with all benefits to reap from them and offer little in exchange" (Soc Con gressman, July 15, 1961.)

But amazingly enough; even after all this. Congress leaders have nothing to say as to what they propose to do. Their pre-sent Election Manifesto only. proclaims the following pious

"The fundamental problem in India is not only to increase greatly the living standards of the people but also to bring about progressively social and about progressively social and economic equality. Existing ine-qualities and disparities in the social fabric are ethically wrong and will obstruct progress on all fronts and produce considerable strains."

It can be seen that Congress leaders are inordinately fond of the word "progr which occurs again and again in all their proclamations. And no wonder, for it commits them to nothing definite. In the meantime, the power of big

business grows. The power that big business wields is not confined to the economic sphere alone. They have intimate links with many of the top leaders of the Cor gress—quite a good number of whose relatives are high-paid employees of these concerns. The monopolists have their friends in many key positions ration. Also in our administration. Also they control the largest-circu-lated newspapers which play a ad newspapers which play a role in moulding public nion. And while the millionaires ALL CONCESSIONS TO big role in moulding public

grow into multi-millionaires, ishat is the condition of those whose labour has produced the additional national wealth?

Union Labour Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda himself stated in a speech in the Lok Sabha on 11th April 1960:

"Between 1939 and 1947 the standard of living of the worker had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they recovered lost ground. By 1955, real wages had risen by 13 per cent. But since 1956, per cent. But since 1956, when prices again started rising, their gains have to an extent, been wiped out".

The reports of the Census of Manufacturing Industries reveal that since independence the vorkers have been produ cing more and more values, the bulk of which are appropriated by the owners.

The value added per worker went up from Rs. 1,578 in 1946-47 to Rs. 2,792 in 1956-57. For each rupee that the worker earned on an average in 1956-57, he returned that rupee plus two rupees and 29 naya paisa, i.e. 3.39 rupees. This is how exploitation has been steadily intensified. This is how the handful of mono-polists have enriched themselves

Not merely factory workers, but others too-offic emp yees, teachers and other peo-, e with fixed income get sys-matically robbed in order to swell the coffers of the rich.

A study of the incomes of the salaries in private sector industries made by the Second Pay Commission showed that sion showed that in ighest income bracket of Rs. 2,00,000 and above.

average pre-tax income rose by 336 per cent between 1948-49 and 1956-57 and the average post-tax income rose by 371 cent.

On the other hand, the average pre-tax income of the entire salaried staff in private sector has only risen by 10 per cent during the same period. and the average post-tax in-come has declined by three per

It will be clear thus that the fop executives had a hey-day while the rank and file employees have suffered a set-back in their income.

Again, a study of the comparative movement of the highest salaries and the lowest wages in private sector showed that "the disparity ratio between the highest salaries and the lowest wages in the private sector is also far higher an in the Central Government sector, and has, moreover, increased considerably since 1948-49."

Dr. K. N. Raj, the noted economist has written the followdevastating commentary on state of affairs in the couning devastativ tryside:

"According to the data on land holdings in the rural sec-tor, 2.72 per cent of the total number of rural households operate holdings of 30 acres and over and share, between them, 27.2 per cent of the total operated area in the rural sec-tor. The increase in income tor. The increase in inc over the decade at current prices, from agriculture as a whole, has been placed at Rs. 1,700 crores in the official naonal income data

the bigger farms in this increase is not lower than their share of the total operated area, the increase in income originating in holdings of 30 acres and over, can, therefore be placed at Rs. 462.4 crores (out of Rs. 1,700 'crores.)

ming that the share of

"If we now allow for the rise in agricultural price during this period, the increase in the in-come of these 'big farmers', on account of the higher produc tion alone, will be well over Rs. 400 crores. As mentio earlier the big farmers, on ac-count of their greater stockholding capacity, are also likely to have gained more from th rise in prices, since the grain would have accrued in greater measure to them than to others over the entire marketted sur pluses.

"Moreover, the ntration in ownership of land may be greater than the concent operational holdings. We have also taken into account the income accruing as interest to agricultural moneylenders. If allowance is made for the factors, the share of the upper income group in the agricul-tural sector (accounting for only about three per cent of only about three per cent of the rural population) in the in-crease of income at current prices, may have been Rs. 600 crores or more." (Economic Weekly, 4 February 1961).

But the most startling fac about the rural population is the progressive deterioration in the earnings and standar of living of the most down sections of our ne

ple, i.e., the agricultural labourers. According to the Report of creased by only Rs. 150 crores during the First Plan period; during the Second Plan, it rose by about Rs. 500 crores from Rs. 892 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry:

the average annual household income of an agricultural labour family fell from Rs. 447 in 1950-51 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57,

the average debt per indebted household has risen from Rs. 105 in 1951 to Rs. 138 in 1956-57,

mission, Rs. 1,052 crores, which was more than 250 per cent of the additional tax target accep-ted initially in the Second Plan. The Third Plan has fixed the unemployment has ris target of additional taxation at from 82 days average per Rs. 1,710 crores. Even if this target is not over-fulfilled unyear in 1950-51 to 110 days average per year in 1956-57. Another most distressing like the Second Plan's, the total of additional taxation put through in the course of decade (1956-57 to 1965

feature of agricultural labour conditions is the intensified exploitation of child labour. will reach the staggering figure The report drains the follow of Rs. 2,862 crores. ing conclusions on the em-ployment of child-labour in agriculture: burden? (i) Employment of childout by Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao (Economic Weekly, August 26.

ren, below 15 years of age, had increased from 4.9 per cent. of the total agrarian labour force in 1950-51 to 7.7 during 1956-57.

(ii) The share of casual child labour as percentage of total man-days worked by the entire labour force had risen from 4.2 per cent in 1950-51 to 6.5 per cent in 1956-57 at the all-India level. (iii) Though the quantum of wage employment had re-

latively increased, the average daily wage of a child earner had declined from 70 nP to 53 nP in agricultural operations and from 61 nP to 55 nP in nonagricultural work for all India

1961), while the proportion of "income assessed to income-tax" increased from 7.9 per cent in 1951-52 to 9.3 per cent in 1959-60, that of the ceipts from incon etax" to national incom fell from 2.03 per cent to 1.79 per cent during the same period. Income-after-tax of these

Who has borne this colossal

According to figures worked

The annual tax yields had in-

The total of additional taxa-

tion actually put through in the

course of the Second Plan was.

according to the Planning Com

1.373 crores in 1961-62

limited number of as creased by about Rs. 400 crores during this period. In the same article Dr. Reo

produced figures which show that while the proportion "individual incomes" to tional income increa 4.77 per cent in 1951-52 to 5.78 per cent in 1959-60, that of tax to the assessed income decreased from 16.9 per cent to 13.0 per cent in the same

This only goes to show that the taxation policy of the Government shows a par-tiality to the rich, since they alone are fortunate enough to have incomes big enough to be assessed.

This point is emphasised by the following list of conces-sions made by the Congress Government in the sphere of direct taxation. of our people

1950-51. - Business profits tax abolished.

- Reduction in rate of

income-tax on companies. - Reduction in rate of income-tax on individuals (Rs. 10,000 and over.)

The meaning of these figures is clear. Now compare the plight of these people with the - Raising exemption limit for undivided Hindu family. 'business tycoons' whose earn-ings run into crores—who build strial empires und 1953-54. 'socialist pattern' we are sup-posed to be building. The 1957 Congress Election

- Raising of exemption limit on personal income-tax. Manifesto stated that "the prin-1955-56

cipal burden of finding resour-ces must inevitably fall on the people of the country. This burden has to be borne. But it Development rebate of 25 per cent on new machinery. — Business losses should be spread out in such lowed to be carried forward indefinitely. way as to fall chiefly on those who are in a better position to 1957-58. oulder it. The structure of

- The excess divident. tax reduced to 10 per cent (from 121/2 per cent) on the distributio of dividend tween 6 and 10 per cent of paid-up capital to 20 per cent (from 25 per cent)on dividends between 10 and 18 per cent and on divider 18 to 30 per cent (from 37 1|2 per cent).

- Super tax rate on inter-cornorate divider duced to 10 from 17 per cent for Indian companies and 20 for Indian companies and 20 per cent for foreign compa-

The 1957 Congress - Election Manifesto stated: "In economic relations there should be no exploitation and no mono and disparities in income should progressively reduced.

At no time in India's history was there so much concentration of economic power in so few hands as today. At no time vas the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many so staggering. At no time did monopolists own or control such a big sector of our eco-

nomy as now. These are not just sweeping statements. They are borne out by facts. They are admitted by

Pressed to explain why was t that despite the increase in ational income, the condition it that des of the masses remains as wretched as ever and even deteriorates. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha in August 1960

"We have to avoid and pre-vent too much accumulation of wealth. If, after all this additional income, only five per cent or ten per cent of the poe benefitted by it nulation and ninety per cent have that is not a good result." not,

A Committee was appointed by the Government to in-vestigate into the matter, to discover where the increased national income has gone. To this day the findings of the Committee have not been published, nor are they likely

tions are over-for reasons which are only too obvious. But what little has leaked out to the press is a sufficient condemnation of the Govern ment which claims to be building a ciety." "socialist pattern of so-

to be published till the elec

However, we do not want to say anything at this stage about the "leaked" information. The facts which are known to all are sufficiently day

.Out of a total of nearly 28,000 private and public limi-ted companies whose total ted companies whose total assets comes to nearly 2,800 crores of rupees, only 7 top houses own or control Rs. 776 crores." Even among the two super-giants Tatas Birlas have between have between them nearly 600 crores.

In the sphere of banking, the three top banks have nearly 30 per cent of the total depo-sits of all banks.

. And if we take the entire organised private plantation, manufacture, ban king, insurance and tradeit would be revealed that less than 50 Indian and foreign big business houses, firms and panies many of w closely conn om are ted to each other, control between themselves no less than 70-80 per cent of this sector. Harsha Dev Malaviya, a loyal in, had to

Raj rubbed home the point: "A little arithmetic about the income accruing to the top four per cent of the population will show that the average inco of a household of five members at this level, works cut to nearly Rs. 11,500 per annum.

dentally, that the average in-come of households at this upper level is nearly 30 times as high as of some agricultural labour families at the bottom of the ladder.

"In fact, if we took into account, not the average income of the top four per cent, but the average income of the top one per cent, it will probably be found to be, not 30 times the average income of these agricultural labour households but possibly 80 to 100 times as high a range of inequality for finding a parallet to which we should perhaps go to Spain or some of the countries of Latin America which incidentally, do not

On the other hand, the Government of India has been withholding available inform tion regarding distribution of income at different levels. This is borne out by the following

.We must remember inci-

pretend to be democracies of any kind." (K. N. Raj in a paper read at the Divan Chand Indian Information Centre, March, 1961).

respectively.

centage of people drawing more than Rs. 500 recorded a steady decline from 8 per cent during 1952-53 to 5 in 1954-55 and 4.5 during 1956-57. This decline of percentage in the higher income group and in-crease of percentage in the lower inc ome group shows a regressive income distribution.

The poverty of our people is proverbial, but even the most philosophical minds will be aghast at some of the find-ings of the National Sample Survey, according to which:

THE WEALTHIEST

million ۲ live on as low as five annas or less per day.

40 millions on 4 annas on to the appointment of the com-mittee (to probe into the dis-tribution of income and levels of living), some very rough studies were made on the sub-ject of income distribution in the Central Statistical Organi-sation. Its finding showed less per day. 20 millions on 2 annas on ess per day.

though the rise was not steady. "Some 50 per cent of the po-

crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1.291

crores in 1960-61. The budge estimates for 1961-62 put the The poverty of our people figures of the expected tax yield at a still higher level at Rs. 1.371 crores. Most of this rise took place during the Second Plan period

In another place Dr. K. N. despatch of the Delhi correspondent of the Econ. Weekly October 29, 1960): "It is interesting that prior to the appointment of the com-

sation.... Its finding showed that between 1952-53 and 1956-57, the percentages of popula-tion in the lower income groups ne groups considerable .increase

pulation were getting less than Rs. 200 per year during 1951-53. The percentage of people having income less than Rs. 200 per year was 55 in 1953-54, 62 during 1955-56 and 1956-57

"On the other hand, the perwith this object in view. This process will also help in redu-cing disparities in income and wealth " wealth. The total tax revenue of the Union and State Governments increased enormously during the last decade—from Rs. 739 - Rate of corporation tax for foreign companies operating through branches and earning other incomes from 36 to 30 per cent.

1958-59.

-66)

- Increase in the rate of development rebate from 25 to 40 per cent in case of new ships launched after D cember 31, 1957. In respect of gift tax, the following exi) Gifts for carrying on a

business, profession, or vocaii) Gifts made from the ex-

lers privy purse. 1960-61.

-Wealth tax on companies abolished.

1961-62

- Tax on new bonus issues reduced from 30 to 121/2 per cent.

-The tax on dividends re-ceived by foreign companies from the non-subsidiary Indian companies reduced from 53 to 40 per cent.

-Tax on royalties received from Indian enterprises by foreign companies reduced from 63 to 50 per cent. -The period of tax exemp-tion for foreign technicians extended

extended

- The benefit of the five years' tax holiday extended to newly started hotels. — Financial institutions

like Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, etc., which are jointly sponsored by the Governm big business allowed to claim as deduction, appropriations made to a special reserve account of sums not exc 10 per cent of the total in-come of each year. This is reinforced by the high

rate of tax evasion Professor Kaldor in his re-

port to the Government of India estimated that the loss to income tax would amount to anything between Rs. 200 crores and Rs. 300 crores. crores and Rs. 300 crores. Though the Central Board of Revenue consider it to be an overestimate, they also admit that there is evasion and the amount of evasion is rather high. The Direct Taxation Enquiry Committee, headed the ex-Union Minister Maha headed by Tyagi, has also admitted to this

fact. That Professor Kaldor was that the nearer to the truth than the Central Board of Revenue will be evident from the following report published in the Calcutta Statesman, mouthpiece of British Finance capital, which cannot be suspected of base-lessly running down the Congress regime or big business practice

Stupendous nolume of unhealthy transactions are car-ried on outside the official market daily in what is called the Katni market. Katni market is said to have more powerful than the official share market and is vir tually controlling the latter to the detriment of bona fide

The total turnover in the katni market is said to be in the neighbourhood of Rs.

According to an expert esti-mate the Government of India would not have had to impose quite such heavy excise duties and cause quite such hardship to the ordinary citizen if steps

vere taken to recover the Govwere taken to recover the Gov-ernment's share from the vast untaxed money that floats in the kathi market of Calcutta daily (The Statesman, Calcutta May 23, 1961—emphasis addn, Calcutta,

Discussing the reasons of such a high degree of tax sion, the Tyagi Committee, re-ferred to above, held that the softness of the administrative organs towards the tax evader was chiefly responsible for this It said:

"One important reason for the prevalence of evasion is stated to be that in actual practice no deterrent punishment like imprisonment is being meted out to tax evaders en they are caught. Though the direct taxes Acts provide for prosecution and imprisonment in cases of concealment and false statement in declara-

during the last ten years, go even a single person convicted for evasion.... Even moderate penalties levied by officers are reduced to nomi sums by appellate authorities. Both these factors the ese factors, the nonresort to prosecution and the non-levy of deterrent penaltie have no doubt, encouraged the growth of evasion." (Report of the Direct Taxation Enquiry

the Direct Taxation Enquiry Committee, p. 150). After allowing the dishonest assesses sufficiently long time to complete all their manipu-lations for evading the tax levied, the Government ulti-mately scales down the arrears to what it call the 'effective' level Thus for instance the instance, the level. Thus for arrears of incom tax for the years 1958-59 and 1959-60 were scaled down from Rs. 271.60 crores and Rs. 257.40 crores to Rs. 152.36 crores and Rs. tions, the Department has not, 133.60 crores respectively.



As for the poor they have been the proverbial sacrifical

'Out of a total increase of Rs. 411 crores in the Revenue Ac-count of the Central Government (from 1950-51 to 1981-62), Rs. 335 crores was secured through indirect taxation as against Rs. 76 crores secured through direct taxes.

In other words, indirect tar collections increased by 250 per cent as against a 59 per cent rise in direct tax collections. By far the largest part of the increased yields from indirect taxes was secured by the levy of excise duties on such essential commodi-ties as kerosene, sugar, matches, tobacco, tea. etc.

The figures of increased reshow that exactly two-thirds of the total increase or Rs. 330.51 crores (from 1951-52 to 1961-62) were secured through in-crease in indirect taxes.

This enormous increase in indirect taxation means that most of these levies are directly shifted on to the consumers. A study made by the Tax Re-search Unit of the Department of Economic Affairs in the Mi-nistry of Finance, Government of India, throws a lot of light on the increasing incidence of indirect taxation on people's consumption.

According to the above study, anyone in India spend-ing a rupee in 1953-54 had to contribute 3.4 nP to the exchequer in the form of indirect taxes; this contribu increased to 5.3 nP in 1958-59.

The incidence on the urban population is very much higher than the all-India average; and it has also increased at a faster rate. An urban cons had to pay 5.6 nP to the exchequer in 1953-54, paid 8.7 nP in 1958-59.

In other words, for every rupee spent, an urban mer got the return of no more than 91.3 nP in 1958-59. These average figures, however, fail to bring out the growing sacri-

fice imposed on people in the lower income groups.

Let us, therefore, confine our study to the town poor and the lower middle class, i.e., fami-lies with monthly expenditure of up to Rs. 300.

Since an average household consists of five members, a family belonging to the monthly expenditure group of up to Rs. 50 has got only Rs. 10 to Spend per member per month. Out of every rupes spent by urban family of this income group, 5.4 nP is taken away by the State.

In other words, the net per capita average expenditure of a person of the lowest expen-diture group is only Rs. 9.46 per month. What is more sig-nificant is that this is 19 nP lower than the average per capita expenditure of this group in 1953-54.

Due to a similar rise in the incidence of indirect taxation on all the expenditure groups, the net consumption expendi-ture here and the expenditure has suffered a cut in every

For example. family belonging to the expen-diture group of Rs. 151-300, paid a levy of indirect taxation of 4.9 per cent in 1953-54, which increased to 8.4 per cent in 1958-59

A family with a monthly exmore than Rs. 800 has no more than Rs. 60, to spend per member. Such a family paid Rs. 14.70 as indirect taxes per month in 1953-54 and Rs. 25.20 in 1958-59. In other words the per capita expenditure of this group decreased down in the second group decreased from Rs. 57.06 to Rs. 54.96.

We have this time focussed attention only on three aspects of the shameful record of the Congress. Next time we shall take up other features.

(The material used in thes pages came from the Commu-nist Party publications Third Communist Challenge by Ajoy Ghosh; National Income by K. P. S. Menon; and Who Pays for Our Plans by

ARBITRARY ARBITRATOR

When the 17th Session of the Indian Labour Conference recommended that voluntary arbitration should be encouraged against adjudication for the settlement of disputes, nobody, perhaps, thought that at some time one would come across arbitrary arbitrators like D. V. Vyas, ICS, a retired Judge of the Bombay High Court.

S UCH a factor was never reckoned with but fortu-nately the dispute between the Alr-India International Corporation and its employees, represented by the Air Corration Employees Union, ought the existence of such ration Emr highly arbitrary arbitrators into sharp relief and proved that such an arbitrator could not only prolong a settlement of the dispute for months but also sabotage a settlement mutually agreed upon he tween the parties to the dis-

Amazing. Demand .

Following the failure of negotiations to resolve the dispute on wage scales, etc., both the employees and the management of the Air-India Corporation voluntarily agreed to refer the matter to a Board of Arbitrators comprising of each from the two members sides of the management and the employees and an indenendent person nominated by Government as the Chairman The Board was set up on June 27, 1959, and D. V. Vyas was nominated as its Chairman by the Government of Bombay

Arbitrator Vyas demanded an exemplary fee of Rs. 150 Approach per hour or part of an hour his remuneration during the arbitration period and

later, according to the management, agreed to take a lump sum fee, "and two return air passages to the USA", as his remu

The arbitration continued for months and finally the at a bipartite agreement on all the points of the dispute except one and submitted the agreement before the Chair-

raised the minimum wages and afforded some substantial benefits to the employees. The item which the agreement left over to be decided by the Board related to retirement

and signed by the representatives of both the management and the employees on the Board of arbitration on May 9, 1960 but when it was sub mitted to the chairman on May 10, for his signature and to declare the award in terms of the agreement, he refused to comply with the request as he felt:

Partisan

"It was not possible for me as a responsible chairman of

BOMBAY'S **MISFORTUNE**

RBITRATOR Vyas A RBITRATOR Vyas has got quite an im-pressive record. He is in the good books of the labour Labour Minister Shantilal Shah for a long time. Government had put him as chairman of a number of arbitration proceedings where

successfully acted as the watch-dog of capitalist interests. Through him, Shantilal Shah has leader-B. S. Dhume. made himself a pet of

workers emoluments. Vyas awarded only Rs, 1.5 lakhs as bonus to the workers in the Times of India dispute, where the management. workers' protests, notto enhanced the after amount of bonus to Rs. 3.5 lakhs.

Arbitrator Vyas it is reported, is still on the panel of arbitrators of the Government of Maharashtra That he is still there despite the demand of his re-moval by workers, speaks eloquently of his tie with Shantilal Shah

FAGE TWELVE

And this Shantilal Shah whose role in the 110-day strike in the Premier Auto mobiles in 1958 is notoriou had forced the working class of Bombay to rise in revolt against him in the general strike of July 25

Now he is seeking re-election from the Andheri constituency where he is being opposed by the Maharashtra trade union

made nimsen a per of This will be a real ngm the money-bags. as between a proved agent In the Hind Cycles, of the monopolists and a through Vyas's award, real representative of the Birlas were blessed in workers. The result, there-affecting an actual cut in fore, will be worth waiting workers emoluments. Vyas for Probably the workers This will be a real fight for. Frobably the workers would give a fitting reply to that man who has not once refrained from taking. resort to draconian mea sures in quelling working class struggles.

Arbitrator Vyas would soon be relegated to obli-vion except for his mis-deeds but persons like Shantilal Shah, potent as they are, will they continue to threaten working class interests with their diabo-lical schemes for some more time to come?

an an ann an

the committee of arbitration to give an award on the basis of it unless I study and under-stand its full legal and financial implications and effects".

On May 14, 1960, Arbitra-tor Vyas and his wife went on a bon voyage on the inaugural flight by the Boeing to the USA and had a happy sojourn there for about a fortnight. They returned to India in August bay High Court challenging and arbitrator Vyas called the legality of the award on for a meeting of the Board the grounds: and arbitrator Vyas called for a meeting of the Board on August 25. The union reon august 25. The union re-presentatives refused to "That the agreement of attend the meeting because May 9, 1960 must hold the arbitrator Vyas, according field, that the chairman had to them, was no longer an impartial arbitrator.

Against this order, the union heard related to retrement Against tins other, the think filed a writ petition in the Bombay High Court asking for The bipartite agreement was a writ restraining the Chair-arrived at between the parties man from writing and/or

> 00000000 000 0000000 Sadhan Mukerjee

declaring the award on the ground that "by accepting for himself and for his wife free air passages in the inaugural flight of Boeing, sponsored by the corporation, the chairman had rendered himself incompetent to decide the dispute' This petition was admitted and an interim injunction was granted. The union also served a strike notice.

Immediately, another self-appointed mediator Shantilal Shah, Minister for Law, Judi-ciary and Labour of the Maha-rashtra Government intervened into the matter and persuaded the union repre-sentatives to withdraw the writ application and the strike Lotice, as he convinced the parties that he believed . "Vyas will pass an order in terms of the agreement".

Following the withdrawal of the writ application, arbitrator Vyas now emboldened, pro-ceeded to pass orders on the agreement and held that: .

ment of the corporation had already accepted the agree-

Caustie **Bemarks**

NEW AGE

The award of arbitrator Vyas was declared on Novemper 1. 1960 and published in the official gazette on Novem-ber 7. Besides giving direc-tions, which were in the nature: of the interpretation of the agreement as the chairman saw it, arbitrator Vyas

rejected the demand of re-tirement benefits which was left over in the agreement. He also made caustic remarks about the union and generally his directions were prejudicial to the interests of the em-

ployees. On January 9, 1961, the union and another workman of the corporation filed writ applications before the Bom-

agreement before the Chair-man of the Board of Arbitra-fors. Arbitrator Vyas soon passed an order that the bipartite The agreement, inter alia, raised the minimum wages and afforded some substantial benefits to the employees. The the mylore the directions, or to decree that the agreement of May 9, 1960 shall be implemented only subject to the directions, and that by accepting hospi-tality of one of the parties to passing an award as "a single the dispute before him, the chairman had rendered him-cover to be derided by the self incompetent to be a judge of the cause".

> The writ applications were heard by Justices Chandra-chud and Patel of the Bombay High Court, both of whom r cently in separate judgments with almost identical con-clusions upheld the contentions of the petitioners.

Both the Judges of the High Court discussed the "scathing condemnation of the coercive measures adopted by the union to stiffe the decision on merit" of the dispute and that part of the award where Arbitrator Vyas sought to re-inforce his condemnation of the union by quoting Bhartri-hari: "body gets old: face becomes full of wrinkle; hairs become grey; limbs lose vita-lity and vigour; but human greed remains ever young".

Judges Reprimand

Chandrachud J, commented on this part of the award that "To seek to put a gloss on what Bhartrihari said is gratuitous but it is difficult to resist the observation that when the bard said Human greed remains ever young', he wailed in vain".

Patel J. commented that: The language used in the award is far to strong in seve-ral places and the quotation ral places and the quotation the agreem from Bhartribari in the last direction".

paragraph of his award and comparison of the demands of the employees with the ever young greed of human would appear to be uncalled for .

> "His criticism taken along with the directions, some of which appear to be prejudicial to the employees, are suffi-clent to vitlate the directions and they must, therefore, be ousshed

Referring to the fact that Arbitrator Vyas enjoyed the hospitality of the Air-India International, Chandrachud J. remarked:

India International) do not show that it was also agreed to give free air passages to the chairman but it appears that the reference was not made because the chairman and his wife, like other passengers on the inaugural flight were invitees. It seems to us a little odd that the remuneration of the chairman should have been fixed partly in cash and partly in kind".

Sharp

Chandrachud J, held: "In our opinion, by accepting for himself and his wife, hospitality from one of the parties to the dispute before him, the chairman rendered himself incompetent to be a judge of the cause before him. directions given by the chair-man cannot, therefore, be permitted to form a part of the award"

implication being that at least for seven days that the guests were in the USA, respondent 1 and his wife enjoyed the hospitality of the corporation. There can be no doubt that the hospitality could not have been niggardly. The accepting the pendency of arbitra-tion would clearly amount to legal misconduct."

the bipartite agreement was "a lawful agreement on which are super imposed directions which are without jurisdic tion. There is, therefore, no difficulty in giving effect to the agreement apart from the

FEBRUARY 11, 1982

Rebuff

"The minutes (of Air-

To this, Patel J. added: "The

The Judges also held that

NEW AGE **Political Monthly Of CPI** FEBRUARY ISSUE AJOY GHOSH : TWENTY SECOND CPSU CONGRESS P. TOGLIATTI : IDEOLOGICAL RENEWAL ITALIAN CP : THESES

> W. GOMULKA : BEPORT ON CPSU CONGRESS

> > PRICE 50 NP.



Portuguese prisoners in Daman

The Battle for Daman will be remembered as one of the toughest battles fought in the course of the ilberation of the Portuguese enclaves in India. As Maj. Mutalik, and later on Col. Bhonsle himself, put it to me: "We had to fight for every inch of the territory."

WAS the first journalist least 20 machineguns must to break through the ban have been in action then. It bosed even on the Press to was at about 4-15 am. that imposed even on the Press to enter the liberated territory of Daman, and to get official of Daman, and to get official their neavy artillery into permission to enter Daman. action. Eight heavy guns-24 When I left for Vapi I was warned by some journalist friends that I would not be Fort about four miles away. allowed to get into.

Nonetheless, I was impatient and determined to get into Daman officially, as I had heard a number of disturbing and distressing stories about the behaviour of our troops, and I wanted to check th up personally. Moreover I was a first-hand account of the actual battle.

So, on reaching Daman I tried to get into contact with the military authorities on Trank telephone, and after waiting for more than four hours luckily I could get Mai-Mutalik of the Light Maratha Infantry on the line.

Press Welcomed

Introducing myself I told

Introducing myself I told him my purpose. And prompt came the reply that they would be happy to welcome the Press — actually they were wouder-ing why the Press had not ntacted them yet. Maj. Mutalik, who was

miding the Press party, took us to various spots of import-ance during the battle, and explained how our army ad planned double-pronged attack from the right and the left.

Our march started at about 11 p.m. on the night of De-cember 17 from our base camp about two miles from Vapi town and about three miles from the border. Our troops took up their positions behin the hills just near the Kunta post on our side of the border. But it was actually at 3 a.m.

on the 18th morning that our troops crossed into the Portu-guese-held territory. And it was at about 3.50 a m was at about 3.50 that the Portuguese. first located our troops and they opened heavy fire both from and rifles. At

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

SECRETARIAT. COOLUGE COOLUGE

"Now there cannot be slightest doubt that the above agreement... is not based upon any rational principle nor is it support-able on merit." But the real joke was that while arbi-trator Vyas was criticising the agreement, the manage-ment of the compartion had

trap - a - a

... And arms they had used against us.

the Portuguese commissioned their heavy artillery into action. Eight heavy guns-24 pounders-fired on our posi-tions from the Big-Daman

One artillery operating from one mile behind our O.P. position replied the Portuguese artillery fire, and they silenced at least two of the Portuguese heavy guns. By 7 a.m. our forces had already captured a few places including the aero-drome, fighting their way against all odds and heavy incessant fire from the Por-

tuguese side.

and property.

the main street.

Difficult

Advance

both the sides.

It was under these trying conditions that our forces had to requisition the help of our air force to put the Portuguese heavy artillery out of action, and it must be said that our two jet fighters did their job marvellously well, with a minimum of damage to the civilian and military lives

On the 18th morning at about 8 a.m., Col. Bhonsle, who was in the over-all charge of the operation, and who was commanding the battle from the O.P. hills, called the 'C' company commanded by Maj. Shivankar, and the 'Y' company, comand the 'Y' company, com-manded by Maj. Mutalik, into action. 'C' company was asked to advance by the right side and proceed to the edge of the town. Y company was to advance from the left, pro-ceed to the town and capture

But after a little advance it was found simply impossible to move any further in view of the heavy and incessant downpour of bullets by the heavy machinegun fire from the Portuguese side-unless, of course if we were prepared for heavy casualities from

From 10 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. both 'C' and 'Y' companies

were pinned to the ground. And at one stage the situa-tion had become so critical that the question whether to advance or to withdraw was on the anvil.

'A' company commanded by Capt. Mohite, perhaps the youngest officer—about 25 or 27-in the Maratha Battalian supplied relief to 'C' and 'Y' companies, but his men too faced heavy machinegun fire and suffered four casualties.

It was only towards dusk on the 18th that our troops were able to enter the outskirts of Daman town, after our air-boys had successfully silenced the Portuguese heavy guns. the Portuguese heavy guns, and shattered the Portuguese fighting and firing posts.



But here too our army met with a stiff resistance from the Portuguese in the street-fighting. Perhaps one of the severest battles was fought near Tin-Batti, a road junc-tion on the main street of the Daman town.

It was only on the 19th morning that the Portuguese agreed to lay down arms and surrendered to our army.

In this whole operation Col. Bhonsle worked out the stra-tegy of our forces entering the Portuguese enclaves thro-ugh the side-posts of Kunta, which, according to the 'secret information' with our army, were least defended or fenced by the Portuguese, while the main entrance at the Dabhilpost on the Vapi-Daman main road was heavily guarded.

But the later experience was to show and prove that this strategy was based on a wrong and patently false information, and consequently we faced fierce resistance. As a matter of fact the Portuguese had well-entrenched themselves on all the fronts, and they had well-planned and prepared their defences, and made preparations for a longtime resistance.

Later enquiries made by this writer revealed the fact that the information supplied to our Army re-garding the Portuguese strength and p 100

patently faise and deliberately misleading, while the Portuguese were well-informed about us and the information they had re-garding our strength, our positions, the zero hour, our likely moves and strategy etc., was far more, and very near, correct.

And this has led me to And this has led me to have a strong suspicion that someone working for us, and claiming to be our 'sympathiser and well-wisher' had . deliberately supplied us false informa-tion and misled our army, and had betrayed our army to the Portuguese. to the Portugue

This is the key to the strong and stiff resistance put up by the Portuguese on the Daman front and the unusually long duration of the Daman battle. This also explains our comparatively less forces—only 600 in arms and 750 in all—to the Portuguese strength of more

In the course of my talks with Maj. Mutalik he said that the Indians in the Portuguese army fought more toughly, more tenaciously and more fiercely. This was later on confirmed by Col. Bhonsle himself. This was rather surmy later enquiries showed that they were 'forced' to fight like that by the Portuguese at the point of bayonet.

The Portuguese had collected such a vast quantity of war material—which has been captured by our army—in such a tiny place as Daman that one wonders what the Portuguese were really up to. In this connection a responsible mili-tary officer told me that look-ing to the Portuguese military stores it seems they had made preparations to defend Daman for a long period and they would have put up resistance for three months

Sianificant Remark



also. The ful neaning and significance of this stray remark would be lost if it is read in isolation, but if one keeps in mind the suspected 'link up' and 'deal' between Portugal and Pakistan regarding Diu and Daman, the full significance and implications of this remark become clear.

Later on, while talking to Col. Bhonsle about these cap-tured huge military stocks, which, according to him in-cluded Bren guns, Breda guns, Sten guns, Luisi guns, Heavy guns_25 pounders_and a number of rifles such as 303, Piat rifles, etc., and two-inch mortars, 3-inch mortars etc. I learnt that some of these weapons bore NATO markings.

Col. Bhonsle also said that the Portuguese had planned the resistance for a longer period, and looking to these huge military pile-ups they would have been able to do so if the standard of training, and the mettle, of their army was on par with our boys. But it was not so. It was much ower.

Pakistan's **Objective**

When I specifically asked Col. Bhonsle if he thought these captured huge military stores staked by the Portu-guese had anything to do with the suspected, and likely, link-up between Portugal and Pakistan, he certainly could not, and would not, enlighten me on the subject. My later efforts with the civilian authoritles like Mr. Cohelo, the Civil Administrator and the Dy.S.P. Mr. Variava to get some elucidation on this score also did not meet with any success. And naturally so.

But with all this I am in a position to say definitely that even though the Portuguese have destroyed the documents and papers be-fore surrendering, nonetheless some important papers and documents have fallen in our hands which suggest some sort of a 'link-up' be-tween Portugal and Pakistan. Two important top offi-cials of the Central Intelle-gence were in Daman in this connection at the same time when this writer was also in Daman.

The people of Daman hold in great respect and high esteem the men and the officers of the Maratha Battalion, particularly Col. Bhonsle and Maj. Mutalik, for their kind and gentle behaviour, for their human approach and understanding, for their The same officer added a prompt bringing in of the significant remark that the much-needed supplies of daily captured Portuguese mili-basic needs of foodstuffs like tary stores in Daman sug-grain, fresh vegetables etc., on gest that they were not the very evening of the libera-merely for defensive pur-tion, for the electric supply on poses, but very probably the very next day of the libe they were meant for offen- ration etc.

PAGE THIRTEEN

By A. S. R. CHARI

- Though Rajaji and Munshi, who held high offices under the Congress Government may be the hox office attractions, few can doubt that the Swatantra Party is an embodiment of Minoo Masani's aspirations. For some years in the drawing and dining halls of the very rich he was regarded as the coming Messiah when he preached his pink socialism. But soon Minoo Masani found even the word socialism too revolutionary, too pregnant with dangers.

S O he reconsidered "socia- more or less by land legisla-lism" and came to two tion.

firm conclusions. First, that the development of India should be left solely in the hands of capitalists and land-lords. Secondly, that the Government should do nothing more than reduce taxes, build better roads, speedy communications, supply cheap power and put down "strikes" and nds for more wages. What could represent his

ideals better than the opulent obscurity of an executive in house of Tatas as it is not The first Tata it is true, inspired by the ideals of Dada-bhai Naoroji ventured into heavy industry_iron Investment had to be huge and returns could not be expected soon but Dadabhai had taught that national selfhas a material baserespect heavy industry.

His descendants, however lapsed into the traditional attern of Indian finance capital and spread into oils and soaps, perfumes and cosmetics, minor consumer goods not of urgent nation-al concern but yielding quick and high profits.

So Mašani found a haven: True, he ventured forth some-times in the interests of De-mocratic Research or Cultural Freedom abusing Russia weeping tears over Hungary or a dance of joy at the in-vasion of Cuba-the poor abortion

Meanwhile the Congress having taken power at the Centre and the States had to answer an urgent question India was to develop but along what lines?

The Congress during the fight for freedom had accept-ed certain rights of the peo-ple Linguistic provinces (Ma-dras), Fundamental Rights -(Karachi), Agrarian Reforms (Faiznur).

The Constitution which was adopted had also in its Directive Principles fixed the sign post-towards a welfare state where economic justice shall prevail, concentration of means of production in a few hands be prevented as far as possible and a spiral development to a living wage, leisure for a human life and democratic values.

SOCIALIST SLOGAN

So at Avadi the Congress gave the slogan of a Socialis-tic pattern of Society. At Nagpur the slogan of co-

operative farming was given. The Nehru Government undertook plans for building a heavy industrial base for a neavy industrial base for Indian economy and Indian integrity, Hydel projects like Bhakra Nangal and Hirakud, huge projects for flood con-trol and irrigation, mighty steel plants like Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur sprang up in the public sector. The Five Year Plans went into effect. estates were broken up

It must be remembered

that neither Nehru nor his Government had become leftist and revolutionary overnight. In fact the left inside the Congress had been traditionally weak. The right had always been dominant. It controlled the machine. It was never in sympathy with Socalist ideas. So the Nehru Govern ment chose a middle path. Neither so far right as to lose its influence over the masses nor so far left as to lose the support of the

right. MIDDLE ROAD

The concept of a mixed eco-nomy was the middle road. It give full lattitude to private capital only interfering to curb some of the worst abu-ses of the managing agency system and submitting it to a of tune with the times and scrutiny against tax dodging. out of step with every politi-

ding that the perenially shy Indian damsel, private capital,

would be too afraid to enter.

the road or dual policy is there for all to see. Foreign investments in India are at

sector has made

The result of this middle of

people and give full rein to the vested interests. Munshi was the same Home Minister of Bombay who ordered fire on the workers who were protest-ing against the Industrial Disputes Act, justified his action as putting down an insurrection and quite shamelessly read out in the Assembly praise from the Marquis of Zetland congratulating him on his "strong

and wise" Government. To it also came Carianna from the Army and V. P. Me-non from the civil service They were men who had iovally served the British Masters and were not suspected of any nationalist sympathies. Mark these names well— CR, Munshi, Carlappa and V. P. Menon—these are the fathers of Swatantra.

They joined forces with Masani, with the financial power of the Indian tycoons of high finance, with rich Maharajas and Maharanis those walking anachronisms in modern India.

There was one man, how ever, who by rights and by tradition ought to have been also one of the fathers of Swatantra. That was Acharya Kripalani. One has only to read Nehru's Bunch of Old Letters to see what a consistent dogged reactionary Kripalani is

But he is a curious man out

ERNMENT". "CONGRESS FLOUTED GAN-DHIJI'S TENETS".

"CR PROMISES BETTER -UP IF SWATANTRA RE-TURNED". The idea is to try and cani-

talise on the mass discontent. Be it noted that the mass discontent arises from the fact that radical measures in favour of the tiller and landless, a more equitable distribution of wealth, adequate wages in keeping with the rise in prices are not yet obtainable.

The discontent is not aga-inst planning, nor at the fact. that the princes are not allowed to rule any more nor yet that the big estates are being broken up.

But every party, including the Jana Sangh, has need to do window dressing, to decl themselves in a democratic garb to hide the rotten ideas inside. The Jana Sangh says it is a non-communal organi-

FALSE PROMISES

The Swatantra declared at its Agra Convention in November 1961 that it promises war against poverty mises war against poverty. How can it, except in words, for it believes that capita-lists manage industry best and the landlords agricul-

ture. This in spite of the mas-

AGAINST CONGRESS GOV- in the breast of Birlas and Tatas et al finds a fine reflec-tion. It is worth quoting in full

"No one can be sure whe ther Indian politics will de-velop on these lines or even if it does how long it will take The Congress will then stand for the socialistic pattern of society to be achieved by democratic means while the Swatantra Party will stand for private enterprise and the freedom of the com mon man. "But though the distinction

is obvious and will be exaggerated for election purposes it is not so clear-cut as it is made out to be.

"The Congress may stand for the welfare State and a socialist pattern of society, but it also believes in a mixed economy in which the private sector will have a large part to play".

Therein we see the dile mma put in a nutshell. The Congress and Swatantra have diametrically opposite policies. The Indian tycoons of Big Finance are now like Buridan's Ass. Their heart and their hopes for the future lie with Swatantra, but their present class in terests are with the Con-Congress.

How to reconcile them? So the Birla mouthpiece sadly and somewhat irrationally de clares that the distinction "obvious" but it is not so clear out as it is made out to be. That is what Tata also mean

them dares to have a fronal fight with Nehru.

> So comes the inevitability of Indian politics. If you want to attack Nehru, attack him through Krishna Menon

resigned.

Everyone knows that the move by some rump Congressmen in North Bombay was engineered from Delhi. The demand was couched in general terms namely that a local man should be given the Nor-th Bombay seat. They did not dare to openly say that Krishna Menon should not be put. up from there.

questions The Swatantrites who are eagerly trying to hitch the star of their future to anyone who promises them some votes were quick to take the hint.

The "troika" as Nehru called it comprising Swatantrites, Praja Socialists and Jana Sangh invited Kripalani to oppose Krishna Menon.

I do not think any of them was vain enough to think that together they could defeat the Congress

FOOLISH HOPE

What they really hoped was that a large section of Congressmen would sabo-tage the Congress itself and Kripalani to win. This was a foolish hope. The history of the Congress both in the heyday of its growth and even when it is ridden factional squabbles

"harmful inheritance".

So the much looked for support was not forthcoming. Things were in a mess. So the Swatantrites and their back-Swatantrites and their back-ers the entire press caught at greater than the offence of every straw. A forty year old man who calls himself a "Congress youth" issued a 🕲 "The moment may have statement that he was pro-foundly in disagreement with time by those who had an Congress for putting up Kri- eye on the elections but from

is US's reaction. The Portuguese colony in Goa was an offence to In-

obedient echo.

Swarajya.

not a greater offence than "Chinas exploits on the Hiour customs as to untouchability" (emphasis mine).

al representa-

"The manifesto and the

The Krishna Menon-Kripalani contest in North Bombay for Parliament will illustrate this hest

inside the Congress and even in its higher echelons there are men who are sorely trou-bled with the policies of the

SWATANTRA PARTY AN-It did not nationalise any of cal party. But the Acharva when he said that his con-cerns will contribute both to sive experience of the last the existing industries though many of them are rotten ripe for it.

made up for it. To be one of the fathers of Swatantra he It carefully chose to introdid not like but he was not averse to becoming an adopted duce the public sector only in fields so barren and forbid-

The policies of the Swatantra Farty can easily be seen from press headlines. The Swatantra Party as such does nothing. Its leaders speak and the Press in India, which is in the monopoly grip of bil-lionaires, laps it up.

For the language of Swa-tantra is music to the hearts of the Press barons—Birla, Geonka, Dalmia, Jain etc. an all time high and the rich in India have grown richer despite taxation. But even this "hasten slowly" policy because of the big development of the pub-

MISLEADING SLOGANS

fears of reactionaries turn into panic. The building of heavy industry by the state, the formation of peasant CONGRESS BEHAVES LIKE the formation of peasant cooperatives, talk of socialist HITLER, PRINCES DENIED ORDINARY RIGHTS", says pattern-were not those C. R. what the Russian and Chi-"TOTALITARIAN PLANNING nese people had done? If the future of India is set BY CONGRESS", says Munshi "CONGRESS HAS USURPED firmly on such rails what INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY", says would be the future for rug-C. R. ged, lusty, profit-greedy capitalism of laissez faire? "INCREASING MORAL VA-CUUM, CORRUFTION AMONG THOSE IN AUTHO-

the

What was to happen to the big landowners? So from the ranks of the RITY"-Munshi "PUBLIC SECTOR SYMBOL OF REGIMENTATION", SAYS retired men, who were too old and for whom the nation found no more use came the C. R. trickle into the Swatantra. To "PRIVATE COMPANIES DOit came C. Rajagopalachari and Munshi. These were men who had always held conser-RAJAJI" vative ideas. They were parties to the Congress resolu-tions at Karachi, Faizpur, etc. but they did not believe that COUNTRY" says C. R. those resolutions were to be taken seriously.

Their conception of Indian Government was to wield the big stick, the lathi and the let against the nommon

ISTS"

fifty years that the capita-lists can only produce crises and the landlords paupe-

rism. Ordinarily such a party would have been still born. But if one looks at the daily press of the Birlas, Geonkas, Dalmias and Jains one would imagine that the Swatantra Party is as old and at least as strong as the Congress. The bold headlines and the large space devoted to Swa-tantra effusions would sug-

gest that Powerful forces of wealth and power and deep decaying class interests back the Swa

tantra. The Rajas, Ranis and Maharajas who have still a lot of personal wealth and in backward areas still command some personal respect from sections of the people are ral-lying to the faded banner of Swatantra. For these the promise of resurrection of their dead world is the strongest rallying slogan to their savi-ours—Swatantra.

The Ganatantra was the precursor of the Swatantra in Orissa and was able to defeat the Congress earlier but when the fought, it whole-heartedly on fought, it whole heartedly on the policies the the basis of its policies Ganatantra suffered decisive defeat. In its hour of defeat NATIONS TO BE SOUGHT BY it turned to Swatantra and

merged with it. So Birla's Hindustan Times "PERMIT, QUOTA RULE OF CONGRESS IN RUINING THE in an editorial of (November 28, 1961) titled "Swatantra Party's opportunity" hails the merger with unconcealed glee. "POWER BEING MISUSED

FOR PARTY ENDS. C. R. SAYS CONGRESS IS AN OR-GANISATION OF CAREER-"At one strike", the Swatan-tra Party has become the main opposition party in Orissa, it says.

the Congress and the Swatantra election funds There is a great opportunity or Swatantra, declares the

for Birla scribe, provided that Darty goes about its husiness with "tact and circumspec tion". These are curious words to use in respect of a party entering the elections. They need pondering over. It can-not but be that it is a piece of advice, a warm friendly ing "Don't expose yourself too

soon". But when you have basic policies which are dead and outdated and generals who are so antiquated that their minds are clouded by the mists of senility, no amount of tact and circumspection of tact and circumspection can hide the truth. As the Statesman alone of all the English papers, reported through their spe tive covering the Agra Convention:

speeches... appeared to be directed against almost every policy that had been accepted during the freedom struggle or since, whether in relation to land reforms or industry and trade or toreign relations".

"PEOPLE BEING TURNED In the concluding pars all bled with the policies of the INTO SLAVES. CR'S CHARGE the hopes and fears that are Nehru Government. None of

that Congressmen who want to fight the group in power do dia, but Stevenson's reaction so openly. They they will oppose it. declare

dian nationalism. But it was



Party MANIFESTÓ

It is a notorious fact that

FEBRUARY 11. 1962

ANTI-NATIONAL

shna Menon and so he has At once the billionaire press made him into a hero of gigantic stature. They foolishly imagined that by thus deifying a person who could not clean his own political

nose they would hasten the process of defection. The Congress President Sanjeeva Reddy was mobbed with questions, "What do you think of Bajaj. What effect will this have on the Congress in the election" and a number of such damn fool

The Congress President only asked "Who is this Bajaj" That was a sufficient reply. When the police action for clearing Goa of the Salazar

fascists was under prepara-tion the cracked voice of Swa-tantra started croaking. Unless it be for the purpose of an election stunt no action called for in Goa, said some. When the action took place and the world imperialists ex-

pressed their strong disapproval the Swatantrites gave an Look at what C. R. said in weekly effusion in the

The veto of the anti-colo-

It is easy for our repre-sentatives in the United States to shower words of detraction of Adlai Stevenson

the international angle, it was

a wrong moment". In this there is neither patriotism, nor national pride, nor logic nor reason It is a string of illogical anti-climaxes. And, above all, is the slander that it was done as an election stunt.

I believe no party in India has opposed more consistently the Nehru Government on the basis of a popular progressive stand than the C.P.I. but Ajoy sh, our departed lead told pressmen in answer to question: "We want the Nehr Jovernm ent to clear the Po Government to clear the Por-tuguese out of Goa. If as a re-sult the Congress sweeps the polls we will welcome it".

LINKS WITH CONGRESS

That is the only patriotic stand that any Indian could

take. But when the doyen of Swa tantra says Stevenson's abus was U. S. opinion as if that was a sufficient reason we can see to what depths the Swatantra and its leaders have

sunk. It is to be regretted that except Nehru and a minority

nialist Soviet power in the of Congress leaders, the Con-Security Council came to gress leaders of the right wing Nehru's assistance but it is a have not spoken at all. Pandit: Nehru in his spee ches has, of course, ches has, of course, exposed the basic contents of Swatan-

tra ideology. He said "the Swatantra is

AJOY GHOSH THE central organ of the Italian Communist Party, l'Unita, carried a short bio-graphy of Ajoy Ghosh on anuary 14 as well as his

L'UNITA ON

It went on to write.

picture

In 1951 he was elected he Secretary-General of the Communist Party, This opened for the Indian Communists he progress of the stagnant Indian society and for socialsm.

.In this campaign considerable success was attained: the Indian party gave itself a modern orgainsational structure; in the elections of 1957 it won 12½ million votes and emerged as the second party after the Congress.

In the same year the Comnunists obtained a majority n Kerala where Namboodiripad, member of the Party central leadership, was elect d Chief Minister

Ghosh's biography is im-portant also from the point of view of his theoretical work. and his literary output He as published

here but later with Thimayya and tried to bolster him up into a hero.

his work: "The Communists to Nehru" in which Ajoy Ghosh elaborates the national objectives of the Communist Party of India and exposes the contradictions in he policy of Nehru's party, the Congress.

A supporter of the moder-nisation of the political activities and organisational structure of the internation. al Community movement, during the XXII Congress of the CPSU at Moscow Ajoy Ghosh pointed to the histo-ric value of the XX and XXII congress even from point of the life and strug-ples of Indian Community gles of Indian Communists

"The decisions of the XX Congress"—he stated on the platform of the Kremlin— "have had a historic value; they opened the way to the formulation of the first programme of communist society. Lack of understanding of the XX Congress will bring about harm to the entire world Communist movement".

For example, Nehru should not be content with his doing the campaign i



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still dreaming of the 19th cen-tury which ended 61 years ago. It was rather difficult for him to open a school for the elderly leaders of the Swatan tra.

"If the Swatantra Party was in power Rajas, Maharajas and Zamindari system would have continued. The Tory Party in Britain is much more revolutionary than Swatantra. Its outlook on) problems is fascist and if its policies were accepted India would go to pieces".

That is the real face of Swatantra. It is a lust for a dictatorship here in India which will try to resurrect the dead on the bodies of the living. They look lon-gingly at the ease with which Ayub rules in Pakistan. They wanted the same gress itself is divided

But there need doubt that if the little Congress organisation enters the election battle on the slogans of a welfare state, public cooperative farming and nonalignment with military blocs the Congress can still defeat any combination of all the reactionary parties.

Patnaik did in Orissa what Mehtab and others failed to do and the Congress was able to beat back the Ganatantra into the wrinkled, withered folds of the Swatantra.

What was done in Orissa where the reactionaries are strong can be done anywhere in India, including Rajasthan. What is an urgent need is that the masses of the electo-rate should not be left with the impression that the Con-

North Bombay. He should send Morarji Desai to North Bombay and make him speak up.

The Swatantra outside can be defeated the more briskly the Congress cleanses the organisation of Swatantra sympathies.

The health of our nation, the future of our land and the stability and continuity of our policies both domesof our policies both upmes-tic and foreign require the nipping of the . Swatantra bud, its crushing defeat in the present election.

That way we will crush all hopes of a future swing to a dictatorial rightist coup and strengthen the rails of the broad welfare development of Indian democracy. This is the only way to ensure Indian sovereignty

SWATANTRA OPPOSED GOA'S FREEDOM



NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

From R. GANESAN

With hardly 14 days more for the poll in Tamilnad, the election campaign is in full swing. All political parties are busy canvassing support for their condidates

HE party-wise list of Assembly candidates after T the final withdrawal is as follows: Congress 206; DMK 143; Swatantra 94; Commu-nists 68; PSP 21; Tamil National Party nine; Socialists (Lohia) seven; Socialist Labour seven; Forward Bloc six: Jana Sangh four: Republican four; Muslim League and In-dependents 228. For the Lok Sabha the break up is: Congress 40; DMK 18: Swatantra 16; Communists 14; PSP five Socialists two; Socialist Lab our one: Republicans two: Tamil National Party one; Muslim League one and Indenen

ADJUSTMENT ATTEMPTED

There was an attempt at an electoral adjustment between the parties of the democration opposition. The Communis Party took the initiative for lectoral understandin with parties like the DMK, PSP, Socialists, Tamil Arasu Kazhagam and the Republican Party on the basis of a democratic minimum programme.

The CPI made it clear that the Swatantra Party and the communal parties like the Muslim League and the Jana Sangh could have no place in the alliance. This at-tempt proved futile since the other parties were not prepared for such an alliance.

- The DMK in its annual conference at Tirupparankunram declared they will have no alliance with any party, instead they will have electoral ient with any party adjustr opposed to the Congress; in-cluding the Swatantra.

The Communist Party exto the DMK the danger of supporting the Swatantra, a rightist party of big husiness and also the fact that any adjustment or alliance with Swatantra will be used as a tool by the Congress to beat back the democratic par-

But the DMK paid no heed. Because of their wrong politics of blind anti-Congressism they thought of beating the Congress with every stick available. They every : failed to see that the Swatantra stick which they wanted to use against the Congress is not a stick but ous snake.

The talk for an electoral understanding having failed, the Communist Party, however, wanted to have an electoral adjustment with the DMK in order that the votes of the democratic opposition are not split.

In the last two elections the Congress won only by the split of opposition votes. The Comnist Party knew DMK was trying for an ad-. justment with the Swatantra and the Muslim League. But the CPI's proposed adjust-ment with the DMK had nothing to do with that between the DMK, the Swatantra and the League.

It was made clear to the DMK that the Communist Party reserved its right to the Swatantra

PAGE SIXTEEN

the League candidates and that the DMK's adjustment

The talks proceeded only on this basis. But as is well known it failed because the DMK wanted to strengthen its own position by such an adjustment. The agreement between the DMK and the Swatantra also failed.

The DMK, however, hae come to an understanding with the Muslim League. This is the first time in Tamilnad when the Muslim League has ventured to raise its ugly head and has set up its official can-didates in the elections. It is reported from constituencies where the Muslim League has put up candidates that the flags of the DMK and the League are flying together.

Annadoral, the DMK leader. has issued a statement to their followers to vote for the Muslim League candidates. Similarly, the President of the Muslim League has issued a statement for their voters to vote for the DMK candidates.

The PSP in Tamilnad is anti-Communist to the core and noted for its pro-American orientation. It is vehemently opposed to the progressive foreign policy of the Congress Government. Hence, it is no surprise that it has come to an electoral understanding with the Swatantra in Coimbatore District.

The PSP will support the Swatantra candidates for the Parliamentary constituencies of Coimbatore and Govichettipalayam in Coimbatore Dis-trict. It is to be remembered that G. K. Sundaram, a mill magnate is the Swatantra candidate and it is this candidate whom the PSP is supporting. Parvathi Krishnan, Communist candidate is contesting from this constituency for the Lok Sabha. In Coimbatore one can see cars with the flags of the PSP and Swatantra parties flying together.

COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

So, the Communist Party is contesting mainly with its own strength pitted against the Congress, Swatantra and DMK candidates. There are three straight contests with the Congress. The Communist Party clashes with the DMK in 44 seats. The Swatantra Party and DMK face each other in 56 constituencies.

in the State Congress during the past several years and which were responsible for the periodic ministerial crisis in the State have now assum-The Communist Party has set up 68 candidates for the Assembly and 14 for the Lok Sabha. Both the sitting MPs K. T. K. Tangamani and Parvathi Krishnan seek reelection from their respec-tive home constituencies of Madural and Coimbatore respectively.

Tangamani is facing a three-cornered fight with the Congress and Swatantra can-didates and Parvathi has five rivals including a Congress. Swatantra, and DMK candi-dates. Manali C. Kandasamy, the kisan leader, is contesting for the Parliament from Saga pattinam constituency in Tanjore District, Anandan Nami

NEW AGE

TAMILNAD ON THE EVE

It is widely rumoured that

another deal worse than the

Mundra deal has been struck. The story goes that

over two lakhs of runees has

been involved in the deal which speaks not of the

democracy of the Congress, but its stiffling of the demo-

cracy even before it comes into being. This deal also

reveals where Swatantra

The Swatantra Party which

has no mass backing tries to catch hold of disgruntled in-

support of caste and commu-nity. These individuals can at

any time be bought over by the Congress. This is what happened in Trichendur.

Rajali has of course come

congress monopoly

will be weakened

dal committees and the

District Congress Com

tees.

dividuals and relie

stands

biar is contesting from Tiruchirappalli.

Among the Assembly candidates, all the sitting MLAs are again seeking re-election from with them would not be their old constituencies. P. DMK binding on the Communists. Jeevanandam is seeking elec- It i tion from the Washermanpet Assembly constituency in the unopposed return of T. T. Krishnamachari for the Par-Madras City and is facing a four-cornered fight from the Congress, Swatantra and DMK liament from the Trichendur Constituency, where all the three contesting candidates, including a Swatantra candi-date, have withdrawn their candidates. All the State Ministers ev-

cepting Manickavelu Naicker and R. Venkatraman, are again seeking reelection. Naicker is a prospective candidate for the Rajya Sabha and Venkatraman continues to be a member of the State's Upper House. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister is seeking election to Lok Sabha from the Pollachi Constituency in Coimbatore District. Kakkan, Public Works Min-

ister is facing a Communist candidate for the Samaya-nallur Assembly constituency in Madurai District. There is a Swatantra candidate also in the field. Kamaraj Nadar, the Chief Minister is facing a Swatantra and an Independent candidate. The Bindu predicts that the

Congress will be returned to power for another term. Chief out with a statement that his Minister Kamaraj hopes to official candidate has betray-bag more than 175 seats this ed the party, probably having

WITH the elections approaching very fast the people of the State are get-

ting ready to give their verdict on the Congress

rule. The major Party is the Congress which had

won not only a majority of the seats in the 1957 elec-

tions, but also a majority of the votes. But the num-

ber of seats it had won was

totally out of proportion to

the votes polled by it. Any-way it had a comfortable

majority in the State Le-

But the position today is

entirely different. The Con-

gress is in the midst of an

unprecedented crisis. The dif-

ferences which were rampant

All the attempts that were

made earlier at various levels

to iron out these differences

and bring about a rapproach

ment have only ended in fai-lure. When the question of

wings of the Congress. But

selection of candidates

ed the most ugly form

gislature.

the

IN KARNATAKA

time. 24 seats more than last time. Congress circles are very ably witness such things after the elections also. This happy over the failure of the talk of adjustment between is about the elections. the Communist Party and the

Now about the election arrangements. C. Subraman-It is also jubiliant over the vam, Finance Minister, convened a conference of the re-presentatives of political parties. In the meeting a code of conduct for the political parties was adopted

The code enjoins the political parties not to indulge in personal vilification and other details regarding the conduct of public meetings and electioneering.

We know how the ruling will observe the code. We have got enough experi-ence in the past.

In the above meeting some decisions were taken re-garding the facilities for the conduct of elections. It was agreed that no licence fee for the use of mike will be necessary and van propa-ganda will be allowed, etc. It is more than a month since the decisions were taken but uptill now the decisions have not been implemented.

It was said that a minister will be in charge of the Com-mittee set up for the purpose of implementing the code. But re name has been announced far. This is how the Con gress Government is keeping up its promise.

be a farce. The ministerial had expressed satisfaction wing led by Jatti and with the list. But the actual others of his group have severely criticised the re-commendations of the Man-ings and setting up of committees of rebel Congressmen started taking place on a mass scale. There was widespread feeling of dissatisfaction

among large sections of Congress leaders under the leadership of S. Kariappa, a Congress MLA was held in Banga-lore attended by more than 300 Congress leaders of the District and decided to resign from the Congress and set up an Action Committee to set up candidates of dissatisfied Congressmen in the elections.

Similar reactions have taken place in Kolar, My-sore, Shimoga, Chitaldurg and other districts also. In Shimoga the District Con-gress met and decided not to work for the Congress candidates until a satisfactory explanation was given by the Pradesh Congress. Their main grievance is the non-selection of Shri Badrinarayan, a prominent Con-gressman. In Dharwar Dis-trict the position is still worse. The dissatisfaction is so great that Shri T. R. Nesvi who is a Congress MP and who has been denied the ticket this

an Independent the Lok Sabha. Another source of discontent is the giving of Congress tic-kets to some who joined the

* SEE FACING PAGE

MAHARASHTRA REBUFFS MORARJIBHAI

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

violated the convention of the

violated the convention of the Corporation by not inviting suggestions from the Samiti while deciding on the name of a person to inaugurate the function at Maheshwari gar-den. They had previously volc-ed their strong opposition to Morarii Dessi's name for the

civic reception on behalf of

. . . Your bitter opposition to Maharashtra, your hostile views about their history

views about their history and the shooting down of the people of Bombay that took place under your own order and that of your Government in 1955 and 1956 still rankle in the minds of the neonla

of the people.... In all these

years you have not attered

one word of regret for all the shootings and sorrow that you inflicted on the

people by your wrong poli-cies and wrong behaviour".

Dange in his letter stressed

On February 3, thousand

led by Dange and other Samiti leaders courted arrest to show resentment against

Finance Minister Morarji Desai, who refused to pay homage to one hundred and five martyrs killed during his regime.

The huge procession was

for all the past"

An emergent meeting on February 3. attended by a11 the Municipal Corporators, candidates contesting for Vidhan and Lok Sabha seats and leaders of the Samvukta Maharashtra Samiti decided to boycott the inaugural func-tion at "Maheshwari Garden" formerly the King's circle, by inauguration. It might be mentioned here it to the first time since

As the ruling party in the that it is the first time sinc Corporation, the Congress, the new State of Maharasht had invited Desai without was founded that Morarii ha the new State of Maharashtra was founded that Morarji has been invited to the city for a consulting other parties. The Samiti put forward the de-mand that ex-Chief Minister the Bombay Corporation. Dange in his letter to Morarji said: "You know very well that there is no love lost between you and the people of Maharashtra ... Your bitter opposition to Maharashtra roup bettile of Bombay should pay homage to the martyrs killed during his regime "Morarji salute the martyrs or go back" was the slogan with which Samiti decided to receive Morarji.

Dange sent a letter to Morarii Desai "why he should have been particicu-larly chosen for such a small. function as the naming of a small traffic island in north of the city". Dange holds that political motives have inspired "this innocenous function" on the eve of General Elections.

Dange asked the ex-Chief Minister of erstwhile bilingual Bombay State and a strong opponent of its bifurcation, to lay a floral wreath at the that Samiti would not like Morarji to perform the civic function in Bombay, in the name of the city, unless he should "some token of regret Martyrs Memorial at Flora Fountain, which has been raised by the Samiti in memory of those "who were been shot in the struggle for Maha. rashtra State and is Capital of Bombay"

"But if you cannot, then we are against your doing the function (at Maheshwari garden) and we shall voice our opposition as best as we can", ange said.

On Tuesday last the Samiti group in the Bombay Corpora-tion staged a walkout protest-ing against the attitude of the majority party. The leader proceeding to "King's Circle" where Morarji Desai was per-forming the re-naming cere-mony for the place. But they were stopped by a strong of the Samiti in the Corporation in a statement had said that the Congress group had

KARNATAKA'S FUTURE

* FROM FACING PAGE actionary policies followed by the Congress, the encourage-ment it gave to communal and caste considerations, have pendent MLA from Gouribid-

nur (Kolar District) was announced as the Congress can-didate by the Central Election Board. This was resented by the Congressmen in the Taluk the Congressmen in the Taluk and now they have decided to siderations of merit in the see that he is defeated by setting up some other candidate. There is utter confusion and dissatisfaction in the

Congress ranks. The Congress has not been able to announce their official can-didates in constituencies like Malleswaram (Bangalore), Nippani etc. In some constituencies they have changed the candidates anearlier. All these have created a difficult situation for the Congress this time. Even though the. Congress leaders boast that they are not worried over this, circles close to the Congress say that the Con-gress leadership is very much worrled about the

come is difficult to say now. aim appears to be to retain But the fact is that the re- their present position at least **FEBRUARY 11, 1962**

selection of candidates and had to take the communal and caste factors also into account This has only helped to un leash an unprecedented ex-pression of communal appeal in our State which was for long suffering from this dis-ease to the detriment of the growth of the democratic movement. Thus dissatisfac tion against the Congress from Congressmen themselves is an Congressmen themselves is an important factor in this election.

now vrecoiled on it like

The PSP is again trying to maintain it's position as the main opposition in the State. They have forged a united front with the Republican ultimate outcome of these Party and are trying to have dissentions. an understanding with the What will be the final out- rebel Congressmen too. Their

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Shri Sanjiva Reddi the Congress President tried to patch up the differences on the eve of the Madura AICC Session and paid tributes to the Mysore Congress for having for-ged unity among themselves. But immediately after that

N. L. UPADHAYAYA 🕏 ******

the Chief Minister himself came out with a statement criticising sharply the recom-mendations of the District Committees and other minis-ters and leaders like Sowcar

Channaih also criticised. The second stage of the fight within the Congress came when the MPCC held a marathon session lasting for more than 15 days to select the candidates. Most bitter expressions were reported to came there were professions of unity between the minis-terial and the organisational have been used between the two groups in the discussions that went on. Ultimately they could hardly select about 60 candidates unanimously.

what actually happened was entirely different, For the other seats two or Even the so-called demo-cratic procedure adopted by the Congress this time to. more names were forwarded to the Central Election Board. Then the scene of battle shiftthe candidates from the came and it was reported that Mandal level has proved to both Jatti and Nijalingappa get recommendations about

******** From ********

mit-

time has decided to contest as ndent candidate for

Congress recently. An Inde-

FEBRUARY 11, 1962

police picket at Naigum cross-ed under Section 37 of IPC. In batches, the procession-ists defied the ban and courted arrest while thousands watched from rooftops and First batch of 25 prominent

First batch of 25 prominent leaders led by Atre tried to break the police cordon and were arrested. Similar batches led by Dange, Mirajkar, R. G. Kharat (RPI), Limaye (Lal Nishan), Raut (PWP), Pandit Bhakale (Mahasabha), Adhikari Praasabha), Adhikari, Prabhakar Vaidya, Tara Reddy Sultan Jafri, and all nominees were taken away in police vans. A ladies batch led by Roza

Dange, however, successfully broke four-line deep cordon and proceeded towards the King's Circle. But the batch was rrested a few blocks before the Circle. Meanwhile, Morarji was greeted at the Circle with

slogans: Killer Morarji Go Back". His brief speech sad tones was repeatedly interrupted by the crowd standing outside the garden fence. Police resorted to mild lathi-charge here also and made some arrests. Speaking, Morarji said he would never salute the martyrs.

Later in the night all arrest including Dange and ers, were let off. Earlier in the afternoon, Dange along with the Samiti Parliamentary Board under scorching sun, waited in vain for Morarji to pay homage to the martyrs, as had already been done by the Maharashtra Government and all the other colleagues of Morarji in Maharashtra.

Disappointed, Dange said, "People of Maharashtra will force Morarji Desai one day to bow". He laid wreaths on the memorial and went to prepare the great proces-sion. Hundreds of workers and

intellectuals took part in the "Killer of innocents go back", "Samiti Zindabad". It is said that it was the biggest procession taken out after the formation of Maharashtra

since they cannot hope for a big increase in their strength in view of the differences in side their own camp. boomerang. Even Shri Nija-lingappa had to admit that they had to leave aside con-

The Communist Party ha been preparing seriously to put up a good fight against the Congress in area where it has worked. With a proud record of work and sacrifice for the people, with the re-cord of having organised the workers and peasants and led their struggles it is going with confidence be fore the people and seeking their support. It is the only Party in the State to have published a senarate Mani festo of its own

The Manifesto had a great appeal among the people and was welcomed by them.

Above all, ours is the only Party in the State to oppose all communal and caste appeals which have been corroding the minds of the people and vitiating politics of the State. Communist Party hopes that it's appeal would be appreciated by the people and Communists would gather strength this time.

NEW AGE

TRIBUTE TO AJOY GHOSH

Maharashtra Governor's Camp Camp: Surgana (District Nasik)

January 17, 1962

Y dear Shri Dange, shocked and distressed to hear of the death of Shri Ajoy Ghosh. It seems that he succumbed to a sudden heart attack after a stren-

heart attack after a stren-ous tour. He was only 53 when he passed away. I send you and, through you, the members of the bereaved family, my heart-felt condolence at this grievous loss grievous loss. In his death, not only

the Communist Party loses a great pillar, but the country as a whole loses a courageous fighter for free-dom and a great patriot. I share as my own, the sorrow that must be yours at this sad and solemn ment.

I must confess I do not remember meeting Shri Ajoy Ghosh personally, but since he was in the early revolutionary movement, many members of which known to me, and were he was associated Allahabad, I feel I must have met him. I was

however, very familiar with his activities, particularly legislative. It is specially tragic that he should have passed away on the eve of the coming general elecon the eve of tions. Fitting tributes have

been paid to his memory on all hands and I should like add my own word also, all that has been said by others.

His contribution to the cause of national integra-tion deserves particularly to be remembered with gratitude.

I saw in the papers that you had gone to Delhi on hearing of the death. You may have returned by now

I myself am touring the interior of Nasik district Bombay address, and I hope you will get it wherever you might be.

I was glad to meet Mrs. Dange and yourself for a moment at the time of the Russian President's visit. I hope all is well with you and yours. In sorrow and in sympathy,

I am.

Yours sincerely SRI PRAKASA



* FROM PAGE 4

Pathans with their Pakh-toonistan demand are reported to have had estab-lished close contact with Suhrawardy. The Pakhtoon movement has been a per-petual spectre haunting President Ayub and the pros-pect of its tie-up with Suhrawardy's group was too menacing for Rawalpindi to ignore.

Informed quarters hare say that Suhrawardy had good contacts inside President Ayub's military circles, too The tension that has been going on between President and Lt-Gen. Sheikh could very well be used by Suhra-wardy. The Punjabi-versus-Pathan rivalry could also be exploited by him.

Besides, the former Prime Miinster did have important contacts even among the senior civil servants — the former ICS now holding key portfolios—since he had never given up his personal relations with them all.

Even among the disgrantled Army officers, Suhra-wardy had a fairly influen-tial status since he was the leading defence lawyer for those among them convicted in the R awalpindi Conspi-racy Case. And the Rawal-pindi Case hero, Gen. Akbar Khan, was the chief rival of Field Morrhal Field-Marshal Ayub from very early days.

The final move of Suhra-

ral for it to respond to the cautious overtures from Suh-rawardy. In the far North, the wardy that precipitated Presi-dent Ayub's deciison to arrest him was his recent tour abroad, which took him to Europe and the USA.

It is understood that President Ayub was perturbed at the report that he had received from his embassies abroad that Suhrawardy had established good relations with the Western circles as well.

He was alarmed that He was alarmed that Suhrawardy might have even won over Washington since a re-appraisal is re-ported to have set in about the wisdom of U.S. under-writing the Ayub regime whole hog.

Suhrawardy's circles also claim that President Ayub was also frightened because Suhrawardy's standing New Delhi is definitely higher the present than that of ruling group in Rawalpindi.

While all these factors impelled President Ayub to put Suhrawardy behind the bars, it appears that the torments have not ceased to trouble the, uneasy head of the President

The protest strikes and the student demonstrations in East Pakistan are regarded as stud dangerous pointers, and even the President's closest advisers are believed to be hesi-tant about going in for more drastic repressio

Has the point of no-return been reached by the Ayub re-gime? This is the subject that is being talked about in political circles of Pakistan (IPA)

PAGE SEVENTEEN



The Communist Party has proved to be the inhe-ritor of the best traditions of freedom fighters of our land. On its banner is writ large a saga of selfless ser-vice, death-defying heroism and unflinching struggle in the cause of our people. In its ranks are members whose names have become legendary in our country.

BABA Gurmukh Singh is B one such name, and our Party is proud of proposing that name for its candidate from the Ludhiana Parlia mentary constituency.

Over 70 years ago, in the illage Lalton in the Ludhiana district Babaji was born in a poor peasant family. And his very first enterprising venture. of his early youth taught him the meaning of being a colo-nial subject.

Reaching upto matricula-tion in his home district, Babaji mortgaged his land, man-aged some loan, and had set off for America with dreams of further studies in his heart.

The journey on ship that had sailed with Babaji and had .sai other Indians on board from Hongkong for Canada be-came for them an agonising experience of humiliation. The ship was turned away from Canada, and when she anchored in the port of Calcutta, the passengers were "greeted" back home with British colonialists' hullets at the Buibui Ghat. Many were ki others escaped. killed. Many

Baba Gurmukh Singh was arrested and kept in Alipore jail for three months, after which he was brought to Ludhiana and kept detained in is village.

Those were the days when Ghadar heroes were coming to Punjab in large numbers. According to the plan of the Ghadar Party of America the liberate Indi through an armed revolution

Ghadar leaders, Kartar Singh Sarabha and Nidhan Singh Changha came and met Gurmukh Singh Later. Uttal Singh Hans and Arjan Singh who was executed in the Anarkati case, also met Gur-mukh Singh in his village and discussed with him the plans the Ghadar Party.

By that time the Bengal Révolutionary Party had also joined in these plans and Rash Behari Bose had come to Lahore. Gurmukh Singh defied the ban impos-ed upon him, went to Lahore continued his fight to throw and other places persuading off the coloinal yoke. His work

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the soldiers to join the re-volutionaries for the libera-tion of the motherland.

In collaboration with Kartar Singh Sarabha and Uttar Singh Hans, he made an un-successful attempt to blow up the Railway bridge at Doraha, as well. But an informer gave out the plan to the police and on February 19, 1915, arrests took place in Lahore. Ghadar (revolt) could not succeed.

Baba Gurmukh Singh was arrested on the following day and charged with preparing mutiny against the British Government. The first Labore known figure not only in the city of Bhopal but in the whole of Madhya Pradesh, is contesting for the Lok Sabha seat from Bho-Conspiracy case was staged and Babaji sentenced to life ment in Andamans pal as the Communist can-

But the hell that was Andidate. damans for political prison-ers in those days, only steeled the will of Babaji to In a State where majority of women spend their life within the four walls of their fight to finish against the British coloinal regime. Rehome, Mohini is a living ex-ample of the new awakening among the womenfolk of Bhoroically did Babaji bear the hardships and tortures of hardships and tortures of the life there and many pal. were the struggles of the prisoners that he led there, despite the punishment.

These continuous struggles of the patriots in Andamans resulted in the transfer of the political prisoners to Indian ails, Baba Gurmukh Singh along with Vir Savarkar and Bhai Parma Nand were bro-ught back to India.

Then followed a series o attempts by Babaji to escape from the jails in order to fight the colonialists better and series of transfers of Babaji from jail to jail by the British authorities in order to keep him behind the bars at any

Ultimately Babaji's will to Council of the Bhopal Praja Mandal, as Secretary of the Bhopal Congress, Mohini led a life completely dedicated to the service of the people. get free proved stron-ger than colonialists' shac-kles and once while he was kles, and once while he was being taken from Trichinapalli jail to Akola jail, handcuffed and chained. Rabaii managed to jump out of the fast moving train near Nag-pur and took up to underground work against British imperialism.

From 1922 to 1935 Babaji

MATCHLESS RECORD

took him to many foreign countries in this period. Along with Master Uddham

Singh. he went to Kabul and set up a base there. In Kabul, Babaji's sympathles with Amanullah, who was a sworn enemy of the British imperiagot him into prison agai

Bahaji's arrest in Kahul unleashed protest campaigns in Punjab and in a number of other countries as well. Three months later he was released from Kabul jail.

Later on, Babaji toured So-viet Union, Turkey, France, Germany, America, Nairobi and other parts of Africa. various names and under various passports

Bahaii visited the United in 1928, where he start-work of reorganising ed the work of reorganising the Ghadar Party, and for which he was externed from there.

3

MOHINI DEVI, who has

already become a well-

Mohini's political life

starts from the period when she left her studies to join the national movement in

the Bhopal State. Forming the Mahila Mandal, with a few other political conscion

women of the city, she worked for the political, social and economic uplift

social and economic uplit of the women of Bhopal.

But her field of activity was

not confined to the scope of the Mahila Mandal only. In

practically all the major and

Bhopal State, Mohini was found to be an active parti-

cipant.

ninor political movements of

As a member of the General

When the disillusionn

finally joined the Con

- NEW AGE

from the Congress came, in

her case also as in the case

of many progressive ele-ments, Mohini walked out of that organisation, worked with the Nai Rah Party, and

nist Party along with the

Babaji came back to India, triots, Babaji continued work-and still underground was ing for three years, evading working with the Kirti the police. Party when in 1935-36 the police traced him. After bepolice traced him. After be-ing arrested and tortured in the Lahore Fort. Babaii was again sent to Andamans

under a life sentence. In the meantime, in the country, a national campaign had started for the transfer of the political prisoners from Andamans to their respective States.

An year and a half later Babaji was transferred to Punjab, in various jails of which he spent about ten years. After India's independence

also Babaji has continued to fight for the cause of the peo-ple and to keep the police hot on the chase. In 1948 when the Govern-

ment launched a severe re-pression against the Commu-nists and revolutionary pa-

She was elected as the Se-

munist Party and at present, she is the leader of the Com-

nunist Group in the Munici-

BAL KRISHNA GUPTA.

a popular leader, respec-ted and loved by all sec-

tions of the people, is the Communist Party candi-date for the M. P. Vidhan

Sabha from New Bhopal

Beginning his political life

in his student-days when he joined the "Quit India Move-ment", B. K. Gupta rose to become a front rank leader of

the people in their struggle

against the feudal regime of the former Bhopal State.

As a leader of Bhona

Praja Mandal, B. K. Gupta rendered exemplary service to that organisation. At one

time, when the Mandal was

in great financial difficul-

ties, Guptaji went to Bom-bay, and through his writ-ings, songs, stories and dia-logues for films, whatever

he could earn there he sent

In 1948. Guptaji. led the

merger movement in the Bho-pal State, the object of which

was to seek the merger of that State with the Indian

In 1949-50, Guptaji was ele-

cted as President of the Bho-pal Congress, but soon enough he was faced with the anti-people policies of that orga-nisation. In protest, he re-

•4

Union.

it to his organisation.

Constituency.

pal Board of Bhopal.

cretary of the Bhopal Com-

In 1959, when the Puniab

Communist Party launched the struggle against the betterment levy, the police could not arrest Babaji.

In 1961, when the Communist Party launched the Civil Libertles Agitation the police tried hard to arrest Babaji but again, it failed as 'mise rably as ever.

As one of the outstanding leaders of the Communi Party, Babaij has been act Party, Babaij has been acti-vely participating in the struggle of the peasants and workers and it is they who shield him and protect him in his hour of need.

Babaji is also the General Secretary of the Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, and the sponsor and organiser of the Desh Bagat Memorial which is being built in Jullundur.

Since then Mohini is serving signed from the Congress althe cause of the people and the Party to the best of her togethe

At that time, the Communist Farty was illegal in Bhopal. So Guptaji and his comrades formed the Nai Rah Party which maintained close ties with the peo-ple. And when the Commupie. And when the Commu-nist Party was legalised, B. K. Gupta along with the others, popularly known in Bhonal as Nai Rah Group, joined the C.P.L.

He soon became an important leader of the Party and was elected to the post of the Secretary of the Bhopal Party unit.

At present, he is a member of the Secretariat of the M.P. Farty and a member of the National Council of the C.P.I. Besides being a poet, story writer and orator, he is also a good journalist. He had edited Nai Rah, and at present he is editing Jan San-gharsh, a weekly of the MP. Communist Party.

Guntaji has led many popuin the city as well as in the State.



CHANDRA Bara, a 38 year youth is a bold, selfless and veteran political worker of Sootea in Fezpur (Assam).

Born in 1923 in a poor pea-sant family of Scotea in Tezpur, Bara had been an active and advance worker in the student movement and freedom struggle since the age of 14. During his student life he took a prominent part in the movements as secretary of Sootea M. V. School Chatra Hita Sadhini Sabha. Sootea H. E. School Students Union, Tezpur District Stud-ents' Federation and Acting Secretary of All Assam Stud-

ment when he was a stud-

FEBRUARY 11, 1962.

Eastern Zone

candidates

of our country.

India, as a spoke

India

1

strike

ent of Class X he was con-victed for rigorous impri-sonment for one year in Texpur jail for active parti-cipation in the movement. He joined Communist Party of India in 1945 when he came

of India in 1945 when he came to realise the betrayal of the Congress leadership against the toiling masses.

Since then he has been an incessant fighter for the stud-ents, peasants and labourers under the Communist Party adership. In 1949 when he was a B.A.

candidate, warrent was issued on him and he led the movements for two years remain-ing underground and evading Police arrest. For several years he was the

Secretary of the Tezpur Dis-trict Kiran Sabha and the Assistant Secretary of the Assam Provincial Kisan Assam Sabha

He took the responsibility of organising the Communist Party also and as such worked for sometime as a men of the secretariat of the Kamrup District Executive Com-mittee of the Communist Party of India.

At present he is a member of the secretariat of the Tezpur District Council and a member of Assam State Council of CPL

He is an active worker in he village constructive works also and encourages the pea-sants in different constructive works taking active part in road construction, bridge making, etc., as a member of the Nadur Anchalik Pancha-. yat.

He played a leading role during the Oil Refinery Move-ment in Assam, and in oppos-ing the fratricidal Assamese-Bengali rioting. With his bold leadership he was successful in bringing about communal harmony among the different Communities in the locality. Under his leadership as the Secretary of the Peace Committee, workers of different political organisations worked unitedly for the common good.



BENOY Kumar Lahiri D is the Communist can-didate for Shillong general constituency of Assam Assembly. Communist Party has put up its own candi-date in this constituency this year for the first tim Born of a lower middle class parents, Benoy began his political life during his college days as a worker of the Forward Bloc. In 1942 he was arrested for his participation in the August movement.

The stringent pecuniary circumstances of his parents FEBRUARY 11 1962

ents' Federation.

OF DEVOTED SERVICE TO NATION

in the movement of the em-ployees of the Military Acco-unts department in which he was an employee at that time His work as an organiser of the Military Accounts Emplo-yees' Union very soon end-eared him to the employees who elected him to the Execu-

tive Committee of the Union. In 1946 when the employees of the Military Accounts began to prepare for a country-wide strike against the impending strike against the impending mass scale retrenchment of the employees Benoy took a leading part in organising the

. His trade union work gradually brought him in contact with Communist

Party. Through serious study of Marxism and his own trade union experience Benoy earned the member-ship of the Party and was soon elected to the Local Committee of the Party.

In 1948 he took up a post in the office of the Accountant General Assam; but was discharged from that office within three months on an

adverse police report. To evade arrest and to con-tinue his trade union and political work he had to go under ground almost in mediately after his dismissol

After about a year of under-ground life which he devoted mainly to trade-union work, Benoy was arrested and de-tained as a security prisoner for about two years. During the period of his

detention he had to detention he had to resort to hunger strike for a total of 40 days that shattered his

Undaunted by his failing health, he plunged himself again in Party and trade tely after his release from fail.

In this period he helped the reorganisation of a number of important trade unions and for some time he was deputed by the Assam Provincial TUC organise Trade Union Digboi, the citadel of British

Oil kings. At present he is a member of the Executive Committee of Assam State Council of Communist Party, besides being the Secretary of the Local Committee.

He is also connected with several social welfare orga-nisations. He was the Secre-tary of the Citizens Food Com-mittee and represented that mittee and represented that committee on the Supply Ad-visory Board of the district. His work on that committee

was highly appreciated by even his political opponents.

As the Secretary of the As the Secretary of the Local Committee of the Party, Benoy led the local Party unit in its campign for peace and amity among different linguis-tic groups of this cosmopoli-tan town in those dark days of language disturbances in An language disturbances in Assam in 1960. He took a lead-ing part in organising relief to the victims of Pakistani riring in our border areas of South Khasi Hills.

His work in organising relief to the refugees from East Pakistan who came here also drew appreciation from all. He has been con-nected with almost every movement of the working people here and he was one of the main organisers of of the main organisers of the famous Oil Refinery movement of Assam in

the heroes of kerala are the communist candidates

WHEN the final list of candidates whom the Communist Party had de-cided to field or support for the Lok Sabha was published in the newsapers, common comment the press lobby was that candidates to candidate competence and record of public service considered, the Communist Party has scored over all other par-ties in their selection of conditioned

Leading the Kerala team of 18 candidates is A. K. GOPALAN, from Kasargod, who embodies in him three decades of spirited and self-less life for the advance-ment of the tolling people As a fighter for the free-

dom of the country, as a valiant soldier against all forms of social oppression, as a leader of the kisans of Kerala's interests and of the interests of the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections of the people of our country in the Lok Sabha for the two terms he has been a

member, A. K. Gopalan's name is well known in S. K. POTTEKKAT, who is the independent candi-date with the support of the Communist Party at Telli. cherry is well-known in Kerala as a foremost progressive writer and re-nowned novelist. He has championed the cause of all that is progressive, he is a valiant fighter for World Peace and a member of the World Peace Council and through his short storie

novels and writings has striven for a World that is better for the downtrodden. He is a member of the Kerala Sahitya Academy. RAGBAVAN, independent from Badagara is a young rising advocate who hails from a respectable Ezhava

family. He has been in the forefront in all progressive movements in his constitu-ency. He has served a term in the armed forces and one of his challenging slogans against Dr. K. B. Menon his PSP rival, is that if Indian territory is attacked and our country goes to war, he will be the first to offer himself as a soldier to fight for the country. E. K. IMBICHI BAVA, is

one of the staunchest of our party leaders who has hailed from a poor Muslim family from Malabar. From his student days Bava has identified himself first with the freedom movement and later with the Congress Socialist Party and finally has been in the Communi-Party for over two decades. He is a member of the National Council of the Communist Party.

P. KUNHAN has risen to the status of a leader of the Harijans by organising and leading the struggles of agricultural labourers in Palghat District. He has served one term as a mem-ber of the Lok Sabha. K. K. WARRIER was in the forefront in the fight

for responsible Governmen in Cochin State for 1935 1940; later he built the Trade Union movement and the Socialist Party and rose to the position of one of the leaders of the Kerala Com-munist Party. His record as a member of the Lok Sabha championing the cause of the working class, pea-santry and Kerala is well of the working class

known. T. C. N. MENON is one of the rising Trade Union leaders of Kerala and an effective Parliamentarian. His record during the last term in the Lok Sabha in championing the cause of Kerala, Central Government employees etc., is well known.

M. M. ABDULKADAR who A. M. Thomas is a rising advocate in Ernakulam and has been in the forefront in the progressive democratic and Trade Union movement in Cochin. He is a member of the District Council of the Communist Party. P. K. VASUDEVAN NAIR.

is a leading member of the Kerala Communist Party, has taken a leading part in has taken a leading part in building the youth move-ment in India and has been an active member of the Communist Parliamentary Group in voleing the Com-munist Parly's policy on the floor of the Lok Sabha. K. T. JACOB is the Secre-tary of the Kottayam Dis-trict Council of the Party and one of the leaders of

and one of the leaders the Kisan Movement in Kerala. He has a record of two decades of selfless sac-rifice to his credit for the betterment of the trodden. In the Amara-vathi Struggle against evic-tion and for the improve-ment of the lot of the Kisans of the high ranges. K. T. Jacob has taken a leading part. He is con-testing for Moovattupuzha constituency.

E. M. GEORGE is a leader of the Communist Party in Kottayam and is con-testing the Kottayam seat.

P. K. KODIYAN, one of the active leaders of All Cochin Pulaya Mahajana Sabha, through work for social reform came to th Communist Party. He has served one term of Lok Sabha membership and heen an asset to the Lok Sabha team of the Party. He is fighting for the Mavelikkara seat.

P. T. PUNNOOSE who brings with him the tradi-tions of fight for Responsible Government of over quarter of a century, was sible Governm

elected to Lok Sabha twice and has served the interests of Kerala and the interests of downtrodden people. He is standing as official candiate from Tiruvalla. N. SREEKANTAN NAIR date from

is the candidate of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, contesting from Quilon, In the days of the struggle for Responsible Government, and in the fight for popuand in the fight for popu-larisation of Left, socialist ideas and building Trade Union movement Shree-kantan Nair has played a leading part in the poli-tical life of Travancore. He is now the President of the United Trade Union Con-gress. gress.

M. K. KUMARAN, a talented journalist one of the Editors of leading Independent Malayalam Daily of Travancore has represented this constituency in the last term. In the fight against social oppression, in raising the voice of Kerala in the Lok Sabha, and in popularising progressive ideas, M. K. Kumaran has been in the

forefront. P. S. NATARAJA PILLAL an erstwhile Colleague of Chief Minister Pattom Thanu Pillai and pillar of the PSP in Travancore has broken away from the PSP and is standing as an inde-pendent from the Trivan-drum constituency against the Chief Minister's own son-in-law.

His life is a life of dedication to the cause of free-dom and good Government. As Finance Minister of the PSP Government and as a stalwart in politics his views have been studied with respect by all. As he pointed out, he is standing as an independent to raise his voice of protest against the Rule of Corruption and Nepotism that has set in Kerala under the Congress-**PSP** Coalition

NEW AGE

PAGE NINETEEN



CORDE T LEAD

A sectional view of the two-lakh Calcutta rally on February 3. (Photo: Shambhu Banneriji)

The streets of Calcutta thundered with slogans "End the Congress misrule in West Bengal" and "Instal an Alternative Left Government in Power" as colourful processions from all parts of the city poured on to the Maidan on February 3.

THE occasion was the cen-tral election rally, held under the auspices of the United Leftist Alliance, which consists of the Communist Farty, F.B., RSP, Marxist F.B., RCPI, Bolshevik Party and progressive individuals. Nearly two lakhs of people-workers lakhs of people-workers office employees and other sections of the tolling people, middleclass housewives, men of the liberal professions intellectuals, etc., attended the rally. It was one of the blg-gest gatherings witnessed in the city in recent years. Syed Nausher All, veteran nationalist leader, presided over it.

Significantly enough, the only slogan prominently displayed across the big dias was "Establish the Alternative Government". Above it uve Government. Above it was a heautiful poster, showing the figures of a worker and a peasant super-imposed on a map of West Bengal.

There was thunderous ova tion from the gathering when a purse of Rs. 501 was pre-sented to Communist leader Bishwanath Mukherjee on Dishwanath Mukherjee on behalf of the Bata Salesmen's Association.

The representatives of the Association said that the salesmen had spontaneously collected the amount to ensure that there was not to trising funds for defeating Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, who is being contested by Bishwa-nath Mukherjee from the Chowringhee constituency in Colorith activ Calcutta city.

IMPASSIONED SPEECH

In an impassioned appeal to the people of West Bengal, Communist leader Jyoti Basu urged upon them to end the Congress misrule in the State and to give an opportunity to the United Leftist Alliance to form an alternative Govern-ment for five years in the in-terest of democracy and unity of the nation, in the interest of 95 per cent of the people.

The leaders of six Left parties, including Jyoti Basu, and progressive individuals, who are members of the United Leftist Alliance, declared in one voice that if they won the majority in the coming elections, they une coming, elections, they would form and run the alternative Democratic Gov-ernment, with the same singleness of purpose and the same unity of action,

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with which they were now conducting the battle for throwing the Congress out of power.

Analysing the situation in West Bengal, the statements and speeches of Congress lea-ders and the activities of the Congress in this State, they showed that the Congress had aiready suffered a moral and political defeat. "Now the time has come for defeat of the Congress in actual prac-tice by everybody casting his tice by everybody casting his or her vote against it", they declared.

The leaders were lustily chered whenever they made trenchant criticisms of the anti-people policies of the Congress and spoke about the bright possibilities of an alter-pating Covernment in the native Government in the State.

DEFEAT CONGRESS!

Describing how the people throughout West Lengal had responded to the call for in-stalling a democratic Government in power, they appealed to the electorate to make necessary preparations in the next few days with the grim determination to defeat the Congress at the polls.

Greeting the tremendous mass enthusiasm among the people of Calcutta on the people of Calcutta on the occasion of the rally, the Leftist leaders said: "In the last general elections, this great city had given its ver-dict against the Congress in no uncertain' terms. The whole of West Bengal is now following the trail blazed by Calcutta".

They further said that they were confident that in the coming elections the name of the Congress would be wiped out from Calcutta.

Narrating his living experi-ence of the situation in the countryside of West Bengal in course of his election tours course of his election tours during the last two and half months, Jyoti Basu said that months, Jyon Basu said that he had seen a different huma-n'ty there: Vast masses of people in the urban as well as rural areas of the State want-ed a change from the 14 years of Congress misrule. The Communist Party and

of Congress misrule. The Communist Party and other parties of the United Leftist Alliance had entered the election battle with the object of giving a concrete shape to the hopes and desires of most sections of the shape to the hopes and desires of vast sections of the people. West Bengal was the

only State where the ruling party was facing a powerful challenge to its monopoly of power.

For 14 long years the cor-pt Congress Government rupt had loyally served the Indian had loyally served the Indian and foreign monopolists. The United Leftist Alliance wanted to demonstrate that it was possible to form and run a Government, which would work in the interest of 95 per cent of the people.

Referring to the sermons preached ad nauseam by Congress leaders that it was good to have a strong opposition in the legislature. Jyoti Basu said that it was better to have a non-Con-



gress Government in two or gress Government in two or three States, formed by the democratic opposition. Such Governments would set up before the people of the country a significant ex-ample of competition with the Congress Governments in the States and of the in other States and at the Centre.

Appealing to the West Bengal electorate to vote the United Leftist Alliance to power, he said: "Give us an opportunity for at least five years, and we will show what we can do for the masses of people even within the limited powers of a State Govern-ment under the Constitution". Jyoti Basu pointed out that the rapidly growing possibili-ties of the alternative Government had thrown the State Ment had thrown the State Congress leaders into jitters. At first, they had dismissed the very idea that an alter-native Government could be formed in West Bengal. But, now they had changed their tune and were saying that even if the left parties won the elections they would not be able to form a Govern-ment because of "differences" in their ranks!

LEFT UNITED

These gentlemen, Jyoti These gentlemen, Jyou Basu observed, were living in a fool's paradise. The Left parties were fighting unitedly to defeat the Congress. If they won the elections, they would work shoulder-to-shoulder to form and run the alternative Government.

Pointing out that the Congress was resorting to goon-daism, he firmly said that the people knew how to defend themselves. He ap-

NEW AGE

pealed to them to foil the games of the provocateurs and to consolidate their own forces in a peaceful and dis-ciplined manner. Siddhartha Ray, MIA former

Judicial Minister in Judicial Minister in West Bengal Cabinet, remarked that the Congress leaders were suffering from mental deran-gement. That was why they had thrown open the flood-gates of blatant lies and filthy personal slanders. Bijoy Banerjee, former Con-gress Mayor of Calcutta Cor-poration, sharply criticised the treacherous role of the PSP West

in this State and said that its disruptive policy in the elec-tions helped more other than he Congress. Hemanta Basu, MLA, leader

of the F.B. emphasised that of the FB. emphasised that there would be no differences, among the left parties on the issue of seats in the Cabinet In case the alternative Gov-ernment was formed. They would unitedly run the Govcriment on the basis of the agreed programme, which had been already placed before the people,

Chakravarty, Jatin MLA of the RSP said leader that the Congress was mobilising all the notorious goondas of Calcutta with, the object of utilising them in the consti-tuencies of the candidates of the united Leftist Alliance. The initiator of this move was The initiator of this move was a Deputy Minister.

APPEAL TO ALL

Speaking in Hindi, Com-munist leader Indrajit Gupta, M.P., said that the left forces were the only guarantee for the sccurity and safety of the minori-ties in the State. He appeal-ed to all tolling people, Ben-galls and non-Bengalls, to tolin hands to defeat the join hands to defeat the Congress at the polls.

Nepal Bhattacharya, Tara Dutt and Bimalananda Mu-kherjee, leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Marxist FB, and RCPI. respectively, and Syed Nausher All also addressed the gathering.

LITTO'S LETTER

D EAR Comrades,

I wish I could write to each one of the many units and individual memmits and individual mem-bers and sympathisers of our Party who have written to me or sent me condo-lence resolutions on the death of Ajoy. But this is practically impossible and so I am requesting the New Are and our other Party. Age and our other Party Age and our other Party papers to publicise this letter, which goes out with all my affection to the entire Party, which has stood by me like a protect-ing mother at this moment of terrible anguish for me and for my son and our entire family.

Thank you, comrades all, for sharing my grief and, by sharing it, helping me to bear what would be un-bearable. Through all your messages, your letters, your words I have found solace and fresh confidence in the unity and strength of our Party, for which Ajoy worked and gave his life.

In the tributes to Ajoy's memory which have come from Communist Parties all over the world, I have been comforted and have

gained strength through the knowledge of the unity and greatness of the world Communist move-ment whet ment, which remains the sheet-anchor of all our hopes. , **1**,

And through the mess-ages which came from leaders and ordinary people leaders and ordinary people belonging to various parties of our own nation, I found hope in the future of our motherland to which Ajoy dedicated tall his living days.

I know so many I know so many com-rades are worried about me-and my son and our future, now that Ajoy is no more there to look after us. Ajoy's Party will always be there for Ajoy's wife and son to work and live with. com

I hope I shall be able to contribute my little bit towards our cause, by working harder than ever before to take our India forward to the goal, towards which Ajoy helped to point the road.

Thank you once again. Each one of your letters has been such a help to me at this time.

LITTO GHOSH